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THE LATER PERIODS

OF

QUAKERISM

BY

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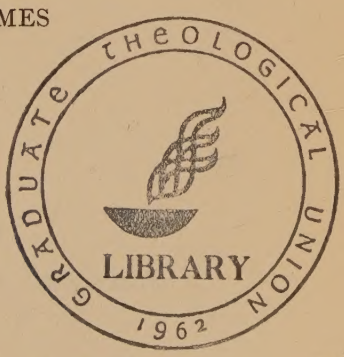

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CHAPTER XIV

THE MOST SIGNIFICANT RELIGIOUS TENDENCIES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE evangelical movement, the rise and progress of which we have already reviewed, remained far into the nineteenth century both in England and America the most important phase of Christian life and thought. In evangelical circles no other interpretation of Christianity than their own was recognized as having either validity or saving power. John Wesley had himself said: "The fall of man is the very foundation of revealed religion. If this be taken away, the Christian system is subverted, nor will it deserve so honorable an appellation as that of a cunningly devised fable."[1] As time went on the entire system of thought, or "plan of salvation" as it was generally called, with all its pillar doctrines, became more and more insisted upon as essential Christianity, and those who rationalized religion or who questioned any of the main features of "the plan" were forthwith labelled "infidels." Meantime the intellectual currents of the period were making it more and more difficult to go on thinking in the old forms and conceptions, or to be satisfied with an interpretation of Christian faith formulated to suit the ethical and intellectual needs of the eighteenth century. The work of Immanuel Kant was the most epoch-making step in modern philosophy and forced a complete reorganization of thought. Old landmarks disappeared and ancient proofs of the fundamental verities were seen to be no longer tenable. The God

[1] Wesley's *Works* (New York, 1827), vol. i. p. 176.

beyond the world, who seemed so sure to the opponents of Deism, the God who "in the beginning" had created the visible world and who revealed Himself in miraculous ways to a chosen people in past "dispensations," the God whose ethical principles of government, as expressed in the plan of salvation, were wholly unlike the ethical principles of human life, seemed more and more remote, nebulous, uncertain and incapable of proof. And in any case, even if His existence could have been proved and were indubitable, many had come to feel that a God so conceived and interpreted did not satisfy their nature or their deepest needs as men. The main difficulty was the moral one. The God who was set forth in this scheme could not be verified in terms of human experience, while in some of the extreme formulations of it He seemed out of harmony with man's deepest ethical sense.

The undermining of faith went very far and would certainly have gone much further still if there had not come in the early part of the nineteenth century fresh interpretations of what I have called "the fundamental verities" of religion. The most reconstructive influence in the sphere of religion came like a new breath of life as a result of a deeper and truer discovery and interpretation of the real nature of God. He had been pushed further and further back until He had become in men's thoughts too remote and distant and *supernatural* to move the soul with the warmth and intimacy of acquaintance and certainty. It was always easy to "rationalize" one step further and remove Him altogether. The immense change of outlook and attitude came with the transforming insight that God is vitally here in the life and movement of all that is real, an immanent God, working from within rather than from without. This new insight was primarily due to a new and profounder account of *man's* inmost nature. That very philosophy of Kant which showed proofs of an external God to be not only wanting but impossible pointed at the same time to a new way of approach to the whole problem. Man's own moral nature, the august inner compulsion to live and act so as to realize *what*

ought to be, was seen to be in itself a revelation of God. Man's higher aspirations, with their inevitable implications, indicate that there is a Beyond always operating within him. He is over-finite and continually lives out beyond the margin and the fringes of his own isolated self.

At first these truths were wrapped up in intricate metaphysical phraseology, amounting sometimes almost to jargon, and they worked little effect upon popular thought and practical religion. But in spite of all the wrappings there was real vital power within, which soon revealed its hidden forces. The essential truths of the new movement in philosophy, beginning in Kant and fulfilling its promise in Fichte, Schelling, Schleiermacher and Hegel, were eventually translated into winged seed-thought by Wordsworth and Coleridge, and other writers of genius, and thus carried into the consciousness of English and American readers. Wordsworth arrived at his discovery not so much by philosophical reflection and through the mastery of the German interpreters as by his native poetic insight and freshly awakened spirit, responsive to the deep human aspirations moving the hearts of men. He went, as John Tulloch has well said, "to the heart of religion and laid anew its foundations in the natural instincts of man." "He gave it a higher and deeper volume. He showed with what vital affinity religion cleaves to humanity in all its true and simple phases when uncontaminated by conceit or frivolity. Nature and man alike were to him essentially religious, or only conceivable as the outcome of a Spirit of Life, 'the Soul of all the worlds.'"[1]

This message of Wordsworth's about God received its fullest expression in *The Prelude* and *The Excursion*. One famous passage from *The Excursion* will make clear the vast difference between the poet's way of thinking of God and the characteristic way which had become traditional for the contemporary theologian :

> To every form of being is assigned
> An *active* Principle :—howe'er removed

[1] Tulloch's *Movements of Religious Thought* (London, 1885), pp. 5, 6.

From sense and observation, it subsists
In all things, in all natures; in the stars
Of azure heaven, the unenduring clouds,
In flower and tree, in every pebbly stone
That paves the brooks, the stationary rocks,
The moving waters, and the invisible air.
Whate'er exists hath properties that spread
Beyond itself, communicating good,
A simple blessing, or with evil mixed;
Spirit that knows no insulated spot,
No chasm, no solitude; from link to link
It circulates, the Soul of all the worlds.
This is the freedom of the universe;
Unfolded still the more, more visible,
The more we know; and yet is reverenced least,
And least respected *in the human Mind*,
Its most apparent home.[1]

The same insight is given in immortal form and beauty in "Tintern Abbey": "I have felt

A presence that disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man;
A motion and a spirit, that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things."[2]

Coleridge joined to his great natural poetic instinct and insight a well-matured philosophical interpretation of life and thought, which received its fullest and best expression in his latest literary period, especially in his *Aids to Reflection* and his *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit*. The former appeared in 1825, the latter was first published in 1840, six years after the death of the author. These two books are seldom read now and work no wonders when they are read, but when they came to readers in their first freshness almost a hundred years ago, it was like the coming of a vernal equinox, the warmth of a new spring after a long winter season. At first only "prepared" readers were affected by the message, those

[1] "The Excursion," Book ix. [2] "Lines on Tintern Abbey."

especially who had outgrown the old interpretations and were eager for a religion which seemed to them grounded in reality and correspondent to their own deepest nature; and many of those who were to be the future religious leaders found a new way open before them as they read these books.

The most important help which Coleridge brought to the seekers of the period was help in discovering a truer basis of authority. The old basis of authority seemed weak and precarious. It was the authority of mere dogmatic assertion. It could be brought to no verifying tests. It was of a wholly different type from that of the authority of truth in other fields of human interest. To "believe" meant to exercise an act of sheer faith. Coleridge taught that there is a spiritual constitution in the very nature and structure of man's rational being. Man not only possesses "understanding" by which he argues, syllogizes, demonstrates, deals in short with things in space and time, but he also possesses another and higher capacity, which Coleridge, following his philosophical teachers, called Reason and by which he meant something very different from "reasoning," which belongs to the understanding. Reason is a spiritual capacity and endowment. It raises man to a higher sphere than that which we usually call "nature," the sphere in which everything conforms to mechanical causation and the law of necessity. By this spiritual capacity man partakes directly of God. It is as rational to respond to the Divine Life as it is to respond to beauty or to appreciate love. Man has within himself an organ of revelation as necessary to the complete fulness of his life as is moral conscience or self-consciousness. Religion is thus not something severed from the rest of life and to be thought of as a superaddition; it is rather life itself with its true dimensions discovered and opened out. It is something which can be verified as any other reality can be verified by the testimony of Reason itself. Christianity is *true* because it is seen to be "the true explanation of the facts of our spiritual being and the true remedy of their dis-

order."[1] We test every pillar of our faith as we test the truths of mathematics, by this highest light of Reason within our souls. We cannot properly talk about "sin" if there is not something in us which judges and condemns our acts. We cannot mean anything by "righteousness" unless we can *see the difference* between that which is right and that which is eternally wrong. We talk in vain of "salvation" if salvation be not a state and condition of spiritual life and health which can be known and appreciated in the awakened self-consciousness. Coleridge brings every variety of religion to this inner test, the test of rational, *i.e.* spiritual, insight. The Bible, for example, is known to be a revelation of God and of lofty religious experience because it *finds us* and bears witness to its divine origin. "In the Bible," Coleridge says, "there is more that *finds* me than I have experienced in all other books put together; the words of the Bible find me at greater depths of my being; and whatever finds me brings with it an irresistible evidence of its having proceeded from the Holy Spirit."[2]

This basis of authority was by no means a new discovery. It was a position already held and ably interpreted by Benjamin Whichcote, John Smith, and the other "Latitude men" of the seventeenth century. It had also many earlier interpreters all the way back to the New Testament writers. But it had given place to a different type of religious authority, which well-nigh held the field when Coleridge was writing his books. The rediscovery of it and the convincing manner of its presentation brought a new sense of reality to religious faith for those who caught the light, and for this and other reasons the decade from 1830 to 1840 proved to be a distinct epoch of advancement in religious life and thought.

Thomas Carlyle, in spite of all his faults of nature

[1] Quoted from Tulloch, *op. cit.* p. 12.

[2] *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit* (London, 1853), p. 47. It is interesting to find William Edward Forster who was at this time still a Friend writing to Barclay Fox in 1841: "My idea of the inspiration of the Scriptures is what I imagine to be Coleridge's" (*Life of Right Hon. W. E. Forster*, vol. i. p. 147).

and spirit, and his misjudgment of men and movements, exerted a very powerful religious impulse in the same general direction as that of which we have been speaking. Froude's famous testimony expresses what many persons felt in the period of his greatest influence. He says:

> Carlyle was the first to make us see God's actual and active presence working now in this world. To know God's existence was not an arguable probability, dependent for its certainty on Church authority or on apostolic succession, or on so-called histories, which might possibly prove to be no more than legends; but an awful reality to which fate—the fate of each individual bore perpetual witness. Here and here only lay the sanction and the meaning of the word *duty*.[1]

The universe, with its unfolding purpose and with its judgment days of history, was to Carlyle a living revelation of God. "God is the supreme fact," and all lesser "facts" in the world bear witness in one form or another to His being, His will and to His insistence upon *righteousness*—"the great Soul of the world is just and not unjust." Most clearly of all, as *Sartor Resartus* vividly testifies, is this revelation of God made in man's soul, which is forever kindred to the eternal Spirit. "Always and everywhere this remains a true saying: 'Il y a dans le cœur human un fibre religieux,'" which may be loosely translated into A. Sabatier's famous phrase: "Man is incurably religious."[2] God not only made us, Carlyle declared, but He is in us now and around us. "Revelation, Inspiration, yes, and thy own God-created soul: dost thou not call *that* a Revelation? . . . Thou art the latest book of Nature; it is the inspiration of the Almighty that giveth thee understanding, my brother."[3]

There was much smoke, no doubt, in the writings of this strange Craigenputtock prophet, but there was some real creative fire from above in him, and he brought

[1] J. A. Froude, *Later Life of Carlyle*, vol. i. p. 291. Froude uses *fate* in this passage to mean the moral vindication of one's course of life.

[2] Carlyle's "Review of Goethe's Works" in vol. iii. of *Miscellanies*. The quotation from Sabatier is found in his *Philosophy of Religion*, p. 3.

[3] *Past and Present*.

a rugged note of truth and sincerity to his age. I for one owe much to his stern but awakening message.[1] It is worth noting that William Edward Forster speaks of Carlyle as "the greatest modifying force of this century."[2]

Far more important in popular religious influence was the interpretation of God and of man's inner life as given in the poetry of Tennyson. The immanence of God is here once more presented with great power of conviction and at the same time with a firm grasp on the immense importance of historical revelation and the unique significance of individual personality. This last note is sounded in the fine lines of *In Memoriam*:

> That each, who seems a separate whole,
> Should move his rounds, and fusing all
> The skirts of self again, should fall
> Remerging in the general Soul,
>
> Is faith as vague as all unsweet:
> Eternal form shall still divide
> The eternal soul from all beside.[3]

The reality and uniqueness of personality appear and reappear in so many poems that the truth does not need to be illustrated by quotation. The importance of the historical revelation in like manner runs like a thread of light through the whole of his work. His greatest religious poem begins:

> Strong Son of God, immortal Love,
> Whom we, that have not seen thy face,
> By faith, and faith alone, embrace,
> Believing where we cannot prove.[4]

---

[1] If this chapter aimed to present a complete review of the transformation of religious thought in the nineteenth century, it would need to study the important contribution made by Ralph Waldo Emerson, who, like Coleridge and Carlyle, was profoundly influenced by the philosophical movement in Germany, though he was more intimately attached in spirit to Plato and Plotinus than were the two English interpreters. Emerson had great respect for George Fox and the Quakers, and also for Jacob Boehme. He was both in experience and in temperament a mystic, and his account of man's soul in its relation to God is characteristically mystical and full of optimism. God is, for Emerson, the infinite Over-Soul or Spirit, who reveals Himself unceasingly, both in nature and in man's self-conscious spirit.

[2] *Life*, vol. i. p. 166.

[3] *In Memoriam*, xlvii.

[4] *Ibid.* Prologue.

And it expresses with great beauty the spiritual value and universal ministry of the Life which has made the essential truths of God and man "current coin" for all types of the race:

> And so the Word had breath, and wrought
> With human hands the creed of creeds
> In loveliness of perfect deeds,
> More strong than all poetic thought;
>
> Which he may read that binds the sheaf,
> Or builds the house, or digs the grave,
> And those wild eyes that watch the wave
> In roarings round the coral reef.[1]

At the same time no one has more strongly held than Tennyson that the human soul comes from God and is always capable of holding communion with God, who is never far away:

> Closer is He than breathing, and nearer than hands and feet.[2]

The poem which greets the arrival of his first child is a profound interpretation of the outer and inner aspects of both the individual life and the cosmos in which the life is set. It expresses with utmost clearness the poet's personal faith that the human spirit comes from the divine Spirit, however it may be wrapped up and hemmed in by the mystery of outward matter:

> Out of the deep, my child, out of the deep,
> From that true world within the world we see,
> Whereof our world is but the bounding shore—
> Out of the deep, Spirit, out of the deep,
> With this ninth moon, that sends the hidden sun
> Down yon dark sea, thou comest, darling boy.[3]

This faith is recurrent, appearing in its loftiest form at the end of *In Memoriam*, and finally in "Crossing the Bar":

> That which drew from out the boundless deep
> Turns again home.

The most permanent feature of the great Victorian's

[1] *In Memoriam*, xxxvi. [2] "The Higher Pantheism."
[3] "De Profundis."

message, and that one, too, which brought the most distinct element of help to his own generation, was his re-interpretation of *faith*. He passes over, as the other religious leaders of the period were doing, from external authority to the moral valuations which the soul itself pronounces. He is everywhere in this particular, but especially in *In Memoriam*, deeply influenced by Kant. Faith is not credulity, it is not the acceptance of tradition, nor the submission of one's own will to "authority." It is an inward discovery of what is involved in the eternal nature of things as it is revealed in our own deep experiences. It is the vision of what must be assumed as real if we are to have any explanation of what is. It is the determination to live and act *as though we knew* in reference to matters that are essential to the higher features of life; "those mighty hopes that make us men"—God, Freedom and Immortality. As already implied, faith is an attitude of will rather than an intellectual attainment, and it verifies and justifies itself in the constructive processes of life. Many passages might be quoted to illustrate this significant principle. I shall give only one, again from *In Memoriam*:

> O living will that shalt endure
> When all that seems shall suffer shock,
> Rise in the spiritual rock,
> Flow thro' our deeds and make them pure,
>
> That we may lift from out of dust
> A voice as unto Him that hears
> A cry above the conquer'd years
> To One that with us works, and trust,
>
> With faith that comes of self-control,
> The truths that never can be proved
> Until we close with all we loved,
> And all we flow from, soul in soul.[1]

Through these and other spiritual insights Tennyson became to his generation the prophet of hope and optimism. He saw the dark side of man's life and the deep shadows which stretched across existing society,

[1] *In Memoriam*, cxxxi.

but he also saw "a Power working in the night," and he confidently proclaimed his faith in

> That God which ever lives and loves,
> One God, one law, one element,
> And one far-off divine event
> To which the whole creation moves.[1]

Hardly less influential were the contemporary poems of Robert Browning, though the influence of the latter was confined to intellectual and cultured circles more than was the case with Tennyson's. Browning, like Emerson, was an incurable optimist, but his optimism was not a mere trait of disposition; it was deeply grounded in his central conception of God. This central conception of God which Browning held was not primarily due to the prevailing idealistic philosophy; it was more directly due to a fresh apprehension of the positive relation of God in Christ:

> God! Thou art Love! I build my faith on that![2]

"Saul," "The Death in the Desert," "Bishop Blougram's Apology," the Pope in "The Ring and the Book," and many other poems make this point clear. The aged John in "The Death in the Desert" expresses Browning's central faith when he says:

> I say, the acknowledgment of God in Christ
> Accepted by thy reason, solves for thee
> All questions in the earth and out of it,
> And has so far advanced thee to be wise.

Perhaps no words of his reached closer to the heart of his faith than did the epilogue to "An Epistle from Karshish":

> So the All-Great were the All-Loving too—
> So through the thunder comes a human voice
> Saying, "O heart I made, a heart beats here!
> Face, my hands fashioned, see it in myself!
> Thou hast no power nor may'st conceive of mine,
> But love I gave thee, with myself to love,
> And thou must love Me who have died for thee."

---

[1] *In Memoriam*, Epilogue.

[2] "Paracelsus."

The most effective systematic reinterpretation of faith, along lines already indicated, was that given by the famous German theologian, Albrecht Ritschl (1822–1889). He followed the track marked out in the ethical teaching of Kant and Fichte. God is to be found, not by the intellect, but through the moral will. It is not by exact theoretical knowledge that God's existence is to be proved; it is through the infinite value revealed in man's inner life that a conviction of God amounting to assurance is given to us. Faith in God is inevitably attached to the ideals by which we live. It is impossible to be a person—an ideal-creating being—and at the same time to live only in the world of fact, the world of mechanical fixity. Our ideals, our valuations, carry us by a necessity of their nature out beyond *the world that is*, and in order to win the victory for the ideals which are essential to our true life, we must believe in a Beyond, a More than is given in the world of fact; we must act with living faith in God.

"On the one hand," Ritschl says, "man is a part of nature, helpless over against it, dependent upon and limited by external things. But, on the other hand, as spirit he feels himself driven to assert his independence over against such things. In this situation religion arises as the belief in exalted spiritual powers, through whose help the power which resides in the man himself is in some way supplemented, or raised to a complete whole of its kind, sufficient to withstand the pressure of the natural world."[1]

The full content of the life and character of the God whom faith thus apprehends is revealed, according to Ritschl, in the Jesus Christ of history.

Thomas Erskine of Linlathen, whose message aroused and inspired Macleod Campbell in Scotland and Frederick Denison Maurice in England—two of the most influential interpreters of Christianity in the middle period of the century—made a rich, positive contribution to the liberation and reinterpretation of Christianity. His mind refused to rest contented with the dogmatic theology that

[1] Ritschl's *Christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, 3rd ed. vol. iii. p. 189.

seemed to his Scotch contemporaries as certain as their highland mountains. The central idea of his teaching—first brought to expression in his important book, published in 1820, *Remarks on the Internal Evidence for the Truth of Revealed Religion*—was the self-evidencing character of religion. The truth of Christianity in all its essential features verifies itself in life and practice. It perfectly fits man's inmost being and all his fundamental needs. It shines by its own light, and it transforms lives by the spiritual power of its own inherent energy. Erskine was an important forerunner of that later group of men who have laboured bravely to deliver the Christian faith from its bondage to outgrown systems of thought and to reveal it once more as a way of life and as an unveiling of the essential nature of God and man.

One immediate effect of the teaching of Coleridge, Erskine and other liberalizing thinkers of the deeper type was to bring about a restatement of the meaning of the Atonement, which since the beginning of the Reformation had held the foremost place in Christian systems. The great successive historical interpretations of the Atonement mark distinct steps of advance in the moral and spiritual life of the race. They seem dry and formal to us now, and somewhat unreal, but they possessed warm life-blood in the day of their freshness and power, because they were expressed in terms of thought which were live and vital for the period. They made sin appear the deep and awful tragedy which it really is, and they awoke the consciousness of men to the fact that infinite issues were involved in it. One weakness of the earlier formulations of Atonement doctrine was the persistent tendency to put the stress on the way of deliverance from the *penalty* of sin rather than deliverance from sin itself. There was, too, in all systems, a tendency to resort to a logical solution of the problem, to take it out of the region of the concrete into that of the abstract; to construct a forensic or legal system rather than to discover a vital process of transformation. Sin was thought of as infinite debt; or, again, as disobedience to the sovereign will of

God, whose sense of infinite justice must be satisfied before pardon could be offered.

It was perfectly natural in the period of feudalism to think of sin as a debt which must be paid, just as it was equally natural to the mind of the Reformation period to dwell upon the sovereignty of God and His eternal justice. Neither period had yet been delivered from legalism, nor had any adequate comprehension of personality as the basis of the Atonement been attained. The deepening of the meaning of the Atonement was sure to follow a deepening of the meaning of personality, and the truer interpretation of sin which would come with it. It was just this profounder grasp of the nature of personal life that characterized the message which the great religious teachers of the second half of the nineteenth century gave the world. When once they had found the way to the meaning of personality and its essential qualities of life the next step was easy. It became impossible to think of God in terms of debit and credit or in terms of sovereignty and justice. The deeper traits of life were bound to receive attention. Salvation, as the healing of the moral and spiritual diseases of the soul through the communication of the life of God to the soul, is the substance of the fresh and powerful preaching of Macleod Campbell.[1] Maurice and Kingsley put their main emphasis upon the revelation of God's love in Christ as the very Heart of God, while they presented with much power the important truth that Christ had revealed at the same time the essential divinity of man. Frederick W. Robertson, in sermons which for a generation reached and stirred men's souls in unusual fashion, made the Cross of Christ seem once more a real revelation of God's character and a genuine way of life for men. Probably no single teacher or writer was more effective in bringing into consciousness a new and deepened conception of the Atonement than was Horace Bushnell of Hartford,

[1] His message is embodied in the following books: *An Essay on Faith* (1822); *The Unconditioned Freeness of the Gospel* (1828); and *The Nature of the Atonement* (1856).

Connecticut. His interpretation has often been called the moral theory of the Atonement; but the label is quite inadequate and does not express the full depth of Bushnell's message. He attempted, as Maurice, Kingsley, and Robertson were doing, to make the religion which bears Christ's name a wholly *vital process*. Salvation has to do, not with remission of penalties, but with change of life and nature. Christ is conceived not as a sacrificial victim, appeasing wrath or satisfying justice, but rather as the Eternal Lover showing in His voluntary suffering and death, endured out of love for sinful men, the tragic cost of sin, and, at the same time, making in the Cross the uttermost appeal of love in order to draw men out of sin. Bushnell's pure and holy life, his extraordinary clarity of insight, his moral depth of character, and the sense of reality in his interpretation of life carried his teaching and his message far and wide and produced conviction in many hearts. Persons who had never heard his name or read any of his books found fresh life in the winged thoughts which went out from him and silently sowed themselves across the world.

Phillips Brooks, one of the most gifted men of the century, took up the message of the Cross in the same vital way, but with even greater powers as a preacher, and made it a very living force both to the learned and to the unlearned who heard him. His personality was far greater even than his weighty words, and through him the fresh and transformed conception to which a great number of religious interpreters had made contribution became a far-reaching and potent influence. It is easy to see in Phillips Brooks, and in most of the impressive interpreters of Christianity in the second half of the nineteenth century, that the fundamental religious *interest* has shifted. The central theme with these later teachers is the Incarnation. The revelation of God and the unveiling of the meaning of life take the first place. Sin is felt to be as tragic as the earlier interpreters believed it was, but they saw that the true healing of the soul could be wrought by no artificial panacea. There could be no

real Atonement which did not come out of the whole character of God and which did not fit the entire need and nature of man. Therefore *revelation* was proclaimed as the all-important thing. We are bound to ask as our deepest question: What is the character of God? To that question these modern teachers would say, Jesus Christ is the answer. In Him the character of God is expressed. They take us at once from the abstract to the concrete; they leave theory and scheme behind and go forward to life and personality. God, as seen in Christ, is not a Creditor nor a Sovereign, demanding either pay or justice; He is forever a Father, dealing with men, in their heights and in their deeps, in their triumphs and in their defeats, in their purity and in their sins, as a father deals with sons. The whole business of life, as far as religion is concerned, thus comes to be the business of discovering the character of God, of recognizing Him as Father, and of living as the son of such a Father should live. Atonement is complete reconciliation and fellowship.

On the other side—the human side—the Incarnation is the revelation of *man*. He always was a mystery to himself, an unknown quantity. He lived far below himself and caught only remote and occasional glimpses of the heights of life for which he was meant. Here at length in Jesus Christ the full scope of life was revealed. He is the first-born of the new Order of Persons, and He shows at the same time the moral and spiritual dynamic by which the full-grown stature can be reached by others.

These were some of the religious movements and tendencies which were softening the hard lines of evangelical theology, and were enriching life and thought in the period when Friends were dividing into "branches" over ancient issues and were dissipating their energies with controversies over matters no longer vital or essential. It is always a tragedy to stay absconded and entrenched in the caves which earlier thought has builded when the awakened world is moving forward to meet fresh sunrises,

to enjoy a new day. It could, however, not well have been otherwise. A cautious and isolated people, compelled in order to preserve its precious truth to hedge itself from the world, could hardly emerge into this freer, wider religious life without long processes of education and spiritual discipline, or without the collisions and upheavals that usually beset the change from old to new. Friends were not the only persons who failed to see what was happening in the religious world around them. They were not alone in their experience of the tragedy of trying to save the truth by an effort to keep it unchanged. There were others who did not realize that the old order was inevitably changing, and that a new and better spiritual world was coming in place of the old one that was vanishing. John Henry Newman, a man possessed with a religious passion almost as intense as that of St. Augustine, and endowed with real genius, saw hope only in a return to the old basis of authority, missed the signs and forecasts of spiritual development, and failed to sound the fundamentally religious nature of man's soul. The century throughout was marked by deep and tragic doubts and questionings. The conclusions of exact science made many earlier religious positions impossible, and in the dark maze some were led to give up all hope of saving the Christian faith, while others retreated into obscurantism and reactionary theology, buttressed by authority. But there ran steadily forward, as we have seen, an onward current of constructive and expansive Christian faith based upon the eternal nature of things. Its great emphasis was on inward religion, and it was in remarkable accord with the central faith of Quakerism. Its leaders and interpreters again and again were aware of this fact and explicitly referred to it. If Friends could have risen to the divinely given opportunity, and could have delivered to the age the full legitimate meaning of their own religious Principle, they could have ministered to the nineteenth century with even greater effectiveness than that which marked the ministry of Fox and the "First Publishers of Truth" in the period of the

Commonwealth. Even now the message of immediate intercourse with God, of continuous revelation, of first-hand evidence, and of religion as a way of life is everywhere needed and speaks with convicting power to all conditions of men.

CHAPTER XV

WORK ON BEHALF OF SLAVES AND INDIANS

I

Anti-Slavery Work

FRIENDS have always been good champions of "causes." They drew a strong strain of inheritance from the Humanists of the sixteenth century, and they were in the early days of their history, and ever afterwards, peculiarly sensitive to human suffering. When confronted by theological problems they have generally revealed considerable confusion of thought, and they have often drifted about like a ship in the fog; but given a clear moral issue to settle, or a human cause to lead, and they have usually girded themselves up like men and steered straight, even though slowly, through the mists toward the regions of light. Their fine sense of right and their spirit of service, joined with genuine bravery and uncompromising leadership, have given them an influence out of all proportion to their numbers. However they might separate themselves from the "world" and hedge themselves about with the fences of their peculiar "testimonies," they never ceased to feel their moral responsibility for the evils in the world, and they never lost their moral passion for the liberation of humanity and the transformation of society. It was just this burden of moral responsibility, and this feeling of kinship with those who suffered and struggled that saved Friends from complete disaster during the tragic period of decline and separations. While they

were losing themselves in human causes, and forgetting their Lilliputian issues in the real battles for human freedom and enlargement, they found themselves and discovered a path out of their own morasses.

I have briefly told in an earlier chapter of the birth and growth of anti-slavery sentiment among Friends in America, and I have indicated the part English Friends took in the abolition of the slave trade and of slavery in the British dominions. This chapter will deal with the later efforts of Friends to end American slavery, and to assist the freedmen after abolition was effected, and with the distinctive services which Friends have rendered for the improvement of the condition of the American Indians.

The first quarter of the nineteenth century was a dull era in the fight against American slavery. The Friends had emancipated all their slaves before the constitution of the United States was adopted, and they had taken the most advanced ground that had been taken by any body of people in reference to the iniquity of slavery, but after the opening of the century there came a period of lull and stagnation. The Abolition Societies, especially the Pennsylvania Society, continued to petition Congress, and to issue declarations of principles, but they were more or less formal and perfunctory, and made little impression either in the North or in the South. In 1819 the Pennsylvania Society declared that "the practice of holding and selling human beings as property . . . ought to be immediately abandoned," but it hastened to add that all attacks on slavery must be made in lawful and constitutional ways, and that no resistance to established law was to be thought of.[1] There was an awakening of sentiment during the brief struggle which was made to keep slavery out of Missouri (1818–1820), but after the Missouri Compromise was settled a time of quiet followed. New leaders, however, were already born and were preparing for a greater moral struggle than any which America had yet known. The most influential of

[1] MS. Records, vol. viii. p. 235.

the early Quaker leaders of this formative period was Benjamin Lundy, who did much to wake Friends and others from the torpor which commercial prosperity and the growing cotton interests of the country unconsciously produced.

Benjamin Lundy was born of English and Welsh Quaker stock, at Hardwick, New Jersey, in 1789. He was an eager, active, energetic youth, possessed, as he himself says, of "unquenchable thirst for knowledge," but owing to the exigencies of straitened circumstances compelled to enter life with very little "schooling." He went west at nineteen, partly to improve his health and partly to begin a career. He learned the saddler's trade in Wheeling, then a pioneer city of western Virginia, and here his mental faculties developed and his moral character ripened and expanded. He himself says that the principles which guided his life were "formed and fixed" while he was saddler's journeyman in Wheeling.[1] He wore at this time the plain Quaker garb, and he lived a consistent life, devoting his leisure time to the improvement of his mind. Here in Wheeling he first became awake to the evil of slavery. This pioneer town was a centre of slave traffic, and the young saddler saw the "coffles," or gangs of manacled slaves, sold and driven off. "As I heard the wail of the captive," he says, "the iron entered my soul.[2]

Lundy married a few years after his apprenticeship was completed, and settled at St. Clairsville, Ohio, about ten miles west of Wheeling. He proceeded at once (1815) to organize an anti-slavery society in Ohio, which he called the Union Humane Society, and which rapidly grew to a membership of five hundred. In 1816 he printed anonymously his first anti-slavery pamphlet, insisting in it that there is no remedy for this evil system short of complete abolition, and pledging himself never to give up the fight "while he breathed or until the end should be obtained."

[1] A brief autobiography of Lundy is printed in Earle's *Life, Travels, and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy* (Phila., 1847).

[2] *Life*, p. 15.

At about this same time, *i.e.* during the year 1816, Charles Osborn, a distinguished Quaker Minister, born in North Carolina in 1775, and for many years a resident of Tennessee, moved to Mount Pleasant, Ohio, and started a paper called *The Philanthropist*, devoted to human causes in general, and to the slave question in particular. Osborn suspected all schemes for the colonization of coloured people as a clever design to quiet anti-slavery consciences and to propagate slavery surreptitiously, and he therefore opposed all such attempts at a proposed solution. *The Philanthropist* was the first American periodical to come out clearly for immediate and unconditional emancipation.[1] Benjamin Lundy became from the first a contributor to *The Philanthropist*, and a few months after the enterprise was launched he became joint editor of it. By a fortune of business, which proved to be a misfortune, Lundy went on an expedition to Missouri just as he was preparing to move to Mount Pleasant to become partner with Osborn in the printing enterprise, and he remained in St. Louis through the whole stormy period while the fate of the new south-western state was being settled and while the Missouri Compromise was being made. When he returned, after the defeat of the anti-slavery cause, having worked heroically for nearly two years on the side of freedom, he was a more intense opponent to slavery than before. In 1821 he began the publication of his famous periodical, *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*.[2] He had his paper printed in Steubenville, Ohio, twenty miles from Mount Pleasant, and he did all the traffic on foot, carrying the paper on his back. After eight monthly issues, and a large increase of his subscription list, he moved to Tennessee, a distance of eight hundred miles, which he accomplished half on foot and half by boat. Here in Tennessee, at Jonesboro, Lundy used the printing press of Elihu Embree, who had recently deceased. Embree was a Quaker, and has the honour of having started the

[1] See *The Journal of Charles Osborn* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1854).

[2] This mouth-filling name was taken from a phrase in one of Curran's great speeches.

first newspaper devoted exclusively to the destruction of slavery. This was *The Emancipator*, which was begun in 1819, while Lundy was living in Missouri, and which came to an untimely end because its founder and editor died. In the winter of 1823 Lundy travelled on horseback from Tennessee to Philadelphia to attend the American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery, and now for the first time he became acquainted with abolitionists east of the Alleghany Mountains.

One notable result of this visit was the determination to move his paper, then the only anti-slavery paper in America, to an eastern centre, and he decided upon Baltimore. He came on foot over the mountains into North Carolina in the summer of 1824, and gave his first public lecture against slavery in the Friends meeting-house at Deer Creek. He travelled on foot from there north to Baltimore.[1] The first eastern issue of *The Genius* appeared in Baltimore in October 1824, being the 44th monthly number from the commencement. The subscriptions rapidly increased, and in 1825 he changed it from a monthly to a weekly periodical. In the autumn of 1825 he visited the Island of Haiti in the interests of an extensive colonization plan, organized primarily to provide homes for slaves in North Carolina who had been given their freedom, but by the laws of that state were not allowed to live there unowned. Seven hundred and twenty-nine slaves of this class had been given by their masters to North Carolina Yearly Meeting to hold until they could be conveyed to lands of freedom. Part of Lundy's plan was to make a colonization experiment in Haiti with a group of these North Carolina freed slaves. Unlike his friend, Charles Osborn, he believed enthusiastically in the colonization of freed coloured people, and he gave much of his time to personal investigation of various regions which seemed promising locations for colonies.

[1] Before leaving Deer Creek Lundy organized an anti-slavery society in that place. He was one of the first persons, if not the very first, to give public lectures against slavery.

During his absence in Haiti his wife died, and he returned to find his home desolate. Under the shadow of his great loss he dedicated himself anew to the cause of the slave, vowing with firmness and resolution to turn aside "neither to the right nor to the left" until men learned to "esteem their fellowmen as brethren," and to relinquish "every prospect of the future enjoyment of a home until that object should be accomplished."

In 1828 he called, in the city of Philadelphia, what is said to have been the first meeting ever gathered in America for the purpose of renouncing the use of all slave products. From Philadelphia he travelled through the cities of the middle and eastern states, visiting the anti-slavery sympathizers, organizing societies, lecturing on his great theme, and making converts who were later to become famous champions of the cause.

To Benjamin Lundy belongs the signal honour of awakening William Lloyd Garrison to the full significance of the anti-slavery struggle, and the greatest result of this eastern visit in 1828 was the impact of his intense spirit on the mind of Garrison. Garrison was twenty-four years old at the time of Lundy's visit to New England. He was editor of *The National Philanthropist* in Boston, the first paper to support the doctrine of total abstinence from intoxicating drinks, when he first met the Quaker abolitionist. Lundy had attended Friends' Yearly Meeting at Newport, Rhode Island, in June 1828, holding an anti-slavery meeting in connection with it, and in the course of his travels came to Boston. He says of this visit:

> At Boston I could hear of no abolitionists resident in the place. At the house where I stayed, I became acquainted with William L. Garrison, who was also a boarder there. He had not then turned his attention particularly to the anti-slavery question. I visited the Boston clergy, and finally got together eight of them, belonging to various sects. . . . The eight clergymen all cordially approved of my object, and each of them cheerfully subscribed to my paper [*The Genius*] in order to encourage by their example their several congregations to take it. William L. Garrison, who sat in the room and witnessed our

proceedings, also expressed his approbation of my doctrines. In the course of a few days we had a public meeting, which was attended by most of the eight clergymen, together with a large audience. After I had finished my lecture several clergymen addressed the meeting. They concurred in my views, except one of them, who said something a little like opposition. I forthwith challenged him to a public debate on the spot, which he declined. William L. Garrison afterwards wrote an article on the subject for one of the daily papers.[1]

Writing later of this visit Lundy says:

I returned home, having considerably increased my subscription list and, as I have since learned, having scattered the seed of anti-slavery in strong and luxuriant soil. While casting it by the way-side and on the mountains covered with flint and glaciers (for it was then the very winter of philanthropy), I could not know on what ground the good seed fell. But time and the vivifying sun of free discussion have fructified it in such a manner as to demonstrate that my labour was not in vain.[2]

Soon after his return to Baltimore Lundy went back to New England to secure the assistance of William Lloyd Garrison in the editorial management of *The Genius of Universal Emancipation.* Garrison meantime had moved to Bennington, Vermont, where he was editing a paper called *The Journal of the Times.* Lundy was determined to enlist the gifted youth, who had powerfully attracted his attention in Boston, in the cause of freedom. He walked with his pack on his back through the winter snow all the way from Boston to Bennington to find his young friend, and having found him he did not return until he had Garrison's promise to be his coadjutor. Garrison's biographer says: "The two men formed a resolution whose final results were seen in the deliverance of their country from slavery."[3] In the autumn of 1829

[1] Earle's *Life of Lundy*, pp. 25, 26. A committee was appointed, before Lundy left Boston, to organize an anti-slavery society in the city. It is an interesting fact that by the year 1826 there were 101 anti-slavery societies in existence in the U.S., and only one of these in New England—the Rhode Island Society. Forty-one of them were in North Carolina and 23 in Tennessee! (See McMaster's *History of the People of the United States* (New York, 1900), vol. v. p. 213.)

[2] Earle's *Life of Lundy*, p 26.

[3] Oliver Johnson, *William Lloyd Garrison and His Times* (Boston, 1881), p. 27.

Garrison became joint editor with Benjamin Lundy in Baltimore. When once Garrison had espoused the cause of anti-slavery he put all the native fire of his kindled spirit into it. Lundy was in deadly earnest, but long experience had made him self-controlled and moderate. Even so he had twice been attacked and brought near to death by those who opposed his cause. William Lloyd Garrison, on the other hand, had no moderation in his system. If slavery was wrong—and he now knew that it was utterly wrong—then it must not be tolerated for an hour, and every weapon known to man must be used against it. In this attitude he began his anti-slavery career, saying in his introductory article in *The Genius* that the energies of his life should be devoted to the overthrow of three of the greatest evils that curse our race—slavery, intemperance and war. He stated that he was in sympathy with colonization both in Liberia and Haiti, "as an auxiliar to abolition," but as a remedy he said it was inadequate, and would never bring the extermination of slavery. He then declared for "complete and immediate emancipation." The question of expedience, he insisted, had nothing to do with that of right, but even on the grounds of expediency it would be safer to set the slaves all free to-day than to-morrow, or next week than next year. And finally he claimed that the coloured people born on American soil had a right to remain here, and no right existed to compel their removal.[1] The straight out, downright manner of the new editor, with his absolute fearlessness of consequences, created everywhere a marked impression. Garrison himself said:

> My doctrine of immediate emancipation so alarmed and excited people everywhere that where friend Lundy would get one new subscriber I would knock a dozen off. It was the old experiment of the frog in the well that went up two feet and fell back three at every jump.[2]

Lundy, secure now with a valiant helper, had gone out

[1] The issue of *The Genius* for 2nd September 1829.
[2] Johnson's *Garrison*, p 31.

on an extensive lecture tour and had left the management of *The Genius* largely to his coadjutor. On his return he found Garrison in prison because of the articles he had written.[1] In the issue of 5th March 1830, Lundy wrote:

In addition to the ordinary difficulties arising from a scanty patronage, others of the most aggravated character have presented themselves. Persecution, in some of its worse forms, has been meted out with unsparing hand. Threats and slanders without number, as well as libel suits and personal assaults, have been resorted to, with the view of breaking down our spirits, and destroying the establishment. In consequence of the limited support that we receive, we are under the necessity of making a radical change in the publication of the work. The partnership [with W. L. Garrison] will be henceforth dissolved, and the paper will be again issued *monthly* by myself, and *confined* to the subject of Universal Emancipation.

This event and the separation of the partnership had no damping effect on their mutual friendship. Lundy on his part declared: "We have ever cherished for each other the kindliest feelings and mutual personal regard," and Garrison in turn said: "Although our partnership is at an end I trust we shall ever remain one in spirit and purpose, and that the cause of emancipation will suffer no detriment."[2] His biographer says: "Never did he cease to admire the indomitable courage and devotion of Lundy, or forget to be grateful to him *as the man who first called his attention to the wrongs and woes of slavery*."[3] Not long after their separation Garrison wrote the following lines:

TO BENJAMIN LUNDY

Self-taught, unaided, poor, reviled, contemned,
Beset with enemies, by friends betrayed;
As madman and fanatic oft condemned,
Yet in thy noble cause still undismayed!
Leonidas could not thy courage boast;
Less numerous were his foes, his band more strong;

[1] Arthur Tappan of New York City paid Garrison's fine and got him released from prison. Meantime John Greenleaf Whittier had written to Henry Clay and asked him to pay the fine. Tappan anticipated, however.

[2] When Garrison started his paper, *The Liberator*, Lundy gave the new venture his heartiest blessing and urged his own readers to subscribe for it.

[3] Johnson's *Garrison*, p. 39.

Alone, unto a more than Persian host,
Thou hast undauntedly given battle long.
Nor shalt thou singly wage the unequal strife;
Unto thy aid, with spear and shield, I rush,
And freely do I offer up my life,
And bid my heart's-blood find a wound to gush!
New volunteers are trooping in the field;
To die we are prepared, BUT NOT AN INCH TO YIELD![1]

It would not be profitable to follow the further work of this brave Quaker reformer in detail. His was the mission of a John the Baptist. He was a voice crying in the bleak, dull wilderness period of the anti-slavery movement. His greatest work was that of discovering, awakening, and kindling others. He never spared himself, he was mastered with one idea, and he drove it into the consciousness of his generation. He found America asleep, and he toiled and wrote until there were at least plain signs of opening eyes. He travelled extensively in the years from 1830 to 1839, the year of his death in Illinois. He went over the regions in Canada which were offered for colonies of coloured people, and he traversed great stretches of territory in Texas and Mexico, searching for safe homes in which to locate colonies of freedmen. He never lost his hope for the freedom of the slaves, and he never lost his faith in the coloured people themselves. He was not a statesman. He had little of the prophet's power. He was not even a great editor. He was a plain, honest, faithful, untiring, patient, devoted good man. He is a typical common-sense Quaker, who is satisfied to follow conscience and to leave the result to God.

While still editing *The Genius*, in 1836 Lundy commenced a new periodical entitled *The National Enquirer*, which soon became the official organ of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society. Two years later, in 1838, Lundy was succeeded in the editorship by John Greenleaf Whittier, and the name of the paper was changed to *The Pennsylvania Freeman*. The veteran of the cause withdrew now to his well-earned rest, soon to be followed by

[1] Johnson's *Garrison*, p. 39.

the great rest—and a brave young Quaker, who was to become one of the foremost leaders of the successful fight, took his place.

In the fire of 1838 which destroyed Pennsylvania Hall Lundy lost all his papers, books, clothes, and everything he possessed of value. In the face of this catastrophe he wrote next morning:

> They have not yet got my conscience, they have not taken my heart, and until they rob me of these they cannot prevent me from pleading the cause of the slave. I am not disheartened, though everything of earthly value (in the shape of property) is lost. *We shall assuredly triumph yet!*[1]

A year later the little man of slender form and unassuming manner, but with brave soul and fearless spirit, had finished his labours. He did not see, as Garrison and Whittier did, the triumph of the cause, but he did much to make possible that triumph which he saw in faith from his Pisgah.[2]

It took a long time to arouse the whole membership of the Society of Friends, and to get them solidly behind the anti-slavery leaders. Lundy always felt that his own people were slow of heart and lethargic. They passed resolutions and minutes which sounded all right, but they had received as yet no "Baphometic Fire-baptism"—to use Carlyle's great phrase—and no overwhelming and irresistible conviction. The process of kindling the group was the usual one, familiar through the centuries. One person here and another there got a clear vision, became faithfully obedient to it, and were made "living epistles" of the cause. Fused themselves to white heat with a live idea, they transmitted the flame until the fire-baptism spread in all directions.

One of the interesting transmitters was Lucretia Mott. She was born in the Island of Nantucket in 1793, daughter of Thomas and Anna Coffin. Her first distinct religious impression attached to a family "sitting," or "opportunity," when Elizabeth Coggeshall, on an itinerant

[1] *Life*, p. 303.

[2] I shall deal with Whittier's work and contribution in another chapter.

visit, "spoke to her condition" and made her realize the importance of "heeding the inward monitor."[1] At thirteen she was sent to the Friends' Boarding School at Nine Partners, New York, where she met James Mott, of distinguished Long Island Quaker stock, of which he was a worthy scion, and who in the course of time became her husband. Lucretia received a good education for the time and soon revealed a fine and gifted nature. She was married to James Mott in 1811, and became attached in membership to Twelfth Street Meeting in Philadelphia, where she soon began to "exercise" her gift in public ministry, and where she was "acknowledged," *i.e.* recorded as a Minister, in 1818. She had first discovered slavery to be an evil when as a girl in school she had heard a powerful account of the voyage of a slave ship, and later when she read Thomas Clarkson's appeals for the abolition of the slave trade. She had also been deeply impressed by the preaching of Elias Hicks, and had been moved by his appeals against any voluntary participation with slavery, and by his abstinence from the fruit of slave labour. In 1825 quite unexpectedly she herself felt a clear sense of duty to abstain from everything produced by unpaid labour, and a little later she and her husband became convinced that the cotton business in which the latter was engaged was too closely allied with slavery for him to continue in it, though it was proving to be financially very profitable to him. The step involved heavy sacrifice but it was taken without a murmur, and it did much to clarify the moral vision of both husband and wife, and to fortify their spirit for the brunt of the struggle.

As the lines of theological divergence increased in Philadelphia, it became more and more apparent that the Motts were bound by close ties of sympathy with Elias Hicks, and were out of harmony with the strict orthodox party. Lucretia was, however, greatly attached to her own meeting. She was a favoured Minister. Her messages were appreciated by all except the narrowly

[1] Anna Davis Hallowell, *James and Lucretia Mott* (Boston, 1884), p. 31.

critical, and she was giving evidence of a steadily-growing service. To her the separation of 1827 was a real tragedy. Her husband leaned strongly toward the side of the liberal party, and after careful consideration she decided with him to join with those who supported Elias Hicks. This course inevitably caused heart-breaking estrangements, loss of friendships, the severing of family ties and the closing of doors of service which had been wide open before. She shaped her course in this matter as always from a plain sense of duty, and though the road she took meant turning her back on much that was dear to her, she went unswervingly forward. This hard decision once taken she turned with new energy to the great call of service which had now grown clear to her inner ear. "I felt bound," she herself declared, "to plead their cause ["the down-trodden slaves"] in season and out of season, to endeavour to put myself in their souls' stead, and to aid all in my power in every right effort for their *immediate emancipation*."[1]

She first became recognized as a power and a person to be reckoned with at the first Convention of the American Anti-Slavery Society, held in Philadelphia in 1833, though being a woman she was not a delegate. This was the beginning of her intimacy with William Lloyd Garrison, and with many of the other rising leaders of the cause. Lucretia Mott was one of the pillar members of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society which was organized at this time (1833), most of its members being members of the Society of Friends. It came into existence because the women were excluded from membership in the Conventions of the Anti-Slavery Society. None of the members of the "Female Society" knew how to conduct parliamentary business; no one of them had ever presided over a gathering. Lucretia's own account of the situation is full of historical interest. She says:

At that time I had no idea of the meaning of preambles, and resolutions, and votings. Women had never been in any

[1] *James and Lucretia Mott*, p. 110.

assemblies of the kind. I had attended only one convention—a convention of coloured people—before that; and that was the first time in my life I had ever heard a vote taken, being accustomed to our Quaker way of getting the prevailing sentiment of the meeting. When, a short time after, we came together to form the Female Anti-slavery Society, there was not a woman capable of taking the chair and organizing that meeting in due order; and we had to call on James McCrummel, a coloured man, to give us aid in the work.[1]

Lucretia Mott was again and again chosen president of this Society, and she soon learned how to take a vote! When Pennsylvania Hall was burned in 1838, the house of the Motts had a very narrow escape from the fury of the mob, since Lucretia was already recognized as one of the foremost and most uncompromising abolitionists. William Ellery Channing, speaking of the great outrage of the burning of Pennsylvania Hall, said:

> In that crowd was Lucretia Mott, that beautiful example of womanhood. Who, that has heard the tones of her voice and looked on the mild radiance of her benign and intelligent countenance, can endure the thought that such a woman was driven by a mob from the spot to which she had gone, as she religiously believed, on a mission of Christian sympathy?[2]

About the year 1837 occurred a havoc-making division in the anti-slavery forces, due to a radical difference of opinion about methods of procedure. One group, of whom the leaders were John G. Whittier, the Tappans of New York, J. G. Birney, Samuel E. Sewell, H. B. Stanton, Joshua Leavitt, Amos A. Phelps, and Gerrit Smith, favoured constitutional methods and political action as the only right method for attaining abolition. They formed what was called "the new organization," and they inclined to a moderate, if not a conservative, course. The other party, led by Garrison, was made up of radicals who were ready to see even the Constitution of the United States overthrown in the uncompromising pursuit of the end in view. This break in the ranks was a tragic affair, which was further complicated by grave

[1] *James and Lucretia Mott*, p. 121. [2] *Ibid.* p. 132.

differences of judgment over the part which women should take in the anti-slavery work. These internal differences were brought to an acute state at the General Conference of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which was held in London during the summer of 1840. "Friends of the slave of every nation and of every clime" were invited to attend this world conference. James and Lucretia Mott were appointed among the delegates sent by the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society. By the decision of the London conference women delegates were excluded. This action aroused much indignation in the minds of those who recognized the important work which women were doing in America for the cause. Meetings of protest were held and outbreaks of disapproval were injected into the conference itself. Lucretia Mott came into much prominence and was generally recognized as the leader. She shone for her marked eloquence, her queenly bearing, and her clear judgment. She found herself, however, *persona non grata* to English Friends, who had been warned in advance by letters that she was "unsound," and in membership with the "Hicksite" branch. It was often asserted that the exclusion of women from the conference was brought about by the influence of prominent Friends on the committee because they disapproved of Lucretia Mott. Whittier always discredited this gossip,[1] and it is almost certainly without foundation, as the prevailing opposition to women's participation in public gatherings is all the explanation that is needed, but there is no doubt that this noble and eloquent woman was mildly "persecuted" during her English visit, and was made in most quarters to feel that she was not regarded as a "Friend."[2]

One permanent effect of the exclusion of women from the conference was the formation on the part of the

[1] See Pickard's *Life and Letters of Whittier*, vol. i. p. 258.

[2] Even such a tender Friend as Josiah Forster said to James and Lucretia Mott that "he hoped we should have a pleasant visit and be treated with kindness, but we must not expect to receive much attention from Friends, particularly from such as had young people about them, fearing the dangerous tendency of our doctrine." (From James Mott's *Three Months in Great Britain.*)

excluded women of a sacred resolution to work henceforth unremittingly for the full rights of women. And from this time onward Lucretia Mott found herself absorbed in two causes instead of one.[1] To the end of the long struggle for the freedom of all slaves she bore a brave and valiant part in the fight, never considering self-interest, never surrendering a jot of principle, and bringing to the issues a clear insight and a convincing eloquence. Her religious ministry was during all these years listened to with profit and appreciation by those who were not theologically prejudiced against her, but her fame now and for the future largely rests and will rest upon her lifelong devotion to the liberation of the coloured race.[2]

Among the great public-spirited leaders of the cause in Philadelphia, Daniel Neall and Thomas Shipley deserve especial mention. Daniel Neall was the President of the Pennsylvania Hall Association. He was chairman of the meeting at the time when the famous hall was burned, and he held his place and presided with dignity and firmness as the mob broke the windows about him and forced in the doors of the hall. He supported generously with his means a great variety of efforts to bring slavery to an end. Of this "Friend of the slave and yet the friend of all," Whittier wrote, describing him as one

> Who tranquilly in Life's great task-field wrought,
> And side by side with evil, scarcely caught
> A stain upon his pilgrim garb of white:
> Prompt to redress another's wrong, his own
> Leaving to Time and Truth and Penitence alone.[3]

Thomas Shipley, another stainless business man, was

[1] It should be said that while Whittier belonged to "the new organization," and consequently belonged to a different anti-slavery wing from that of Lucretia Mott, he was always a champion of the rights of women, though he did not approve of forcing them upon Conventions where a majority of the members were opposed to their participation.

[2] It should be said that her husband, James Mott, though not so highly gifted with eloquence, made a large contribution to the anti-slavery cause. Angelina and Sarah Grimké, co-labourers with Lucretia Mott, were members of the Society of Friends. They were born in South Carolina but they came to Philadelphia to work for emancipation. They were gifted speakers and achieved considerable distinction.

[3] "Daniel Neall."

a lifelong friend and helper of the slave and a valiant advocate of abolition. When this broad-souled philanthropist died in 1836 thousands of coloured people came to his funeral to take their last look of their friend and protector. Whittier, who was closely allied to him in friendship, wrote a beautiful memorial poem containing these words:

> Oh for thy spirit, tried and true,
> And constant in the hour of trial,
> Prepared to suffer, or to do,
> In meekness and in self-denial.[1]

But important as were the eloquent leaders of Conventions and the financial helpers, there was another type of anti-slavery Friend who, in an obscure and quiet way, rendered a no less momentous service. These were the men and women who befriended escaped slaves, opened their homes to them, and became in the course of time a part of the great Underground Railroad system between the South and Canada. Sensitive as Friends were about interfering with the rights of ownership, and conscientious as they were in their sense of obligation to law and order, they nevertheless felt that in the matter of helping slaves to effect their escape, they were obedient to a higher law which had absolute sanction. They did not need to quote as their sanction the passage which ex-President Fairchild, of Oberlin College, called the Fugitive Slave Law of the Mosaic institutions:

> Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which hath escaped unto thee; he shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates where it liketh him best; thou shalt not oppress him.[2]

The Friends rested their case rather upon the clear voice, which seemed to them the voice of God, in their own souls.

It is not possible to settle historically the exact date of the origin of this underground system, though manifestly the name "Underground Railroad" can hardly

[1] "To the memory of Thomas Shipley."

[2] Deut. xxiii. 15-16. Quoted from Wilbur H. Siebert's *The Underground Railroad* (New York, 1898), p. 89.

have originated before the existence of steam railroads! The earliest reference to the existence of a subterranean system of assisting slaves to gain their freedom is that made in a letter of George Washington, who speaks of a slave who has escaped to Philadelphia and whom "a Society of Quakers in the city (formed for such purposes) have attempted to liberate."[1] It is doubtful whether a full-fledged organization existed in Philadelphia, or anywhere else, at this time (1786), for this specific purpose, but individual Friends had already begun, as Washington says in a later letter, to "facilitate the escape of slaves."

Isaac T. Hopper (born near Woodbury, New Jersey, 1771) moved to Philadelphia in 1787, and though only a full-grown boy he began at once to "facilitate the escape of slaves." Lydia Maria Child in her *Life of Isaac T. Hopper* has presented a remarkable series of narratives, recounting the assistance which this unique Quaker gave to runaway slaves. He moved to New York City in 1829, and here he continued, with much risk of life and property, to help slaves find their way to freedom, and he is rightly regarded as one of the creators of the underground system and as a very effective "station agent" of the mysterious line. Outside New York City, one of the most noted "stations," in that State, was the one in the home of Isaac and Phebe Post of Rochester, where a great many slaves were sheltered and from which they were "conducted" on "the north star route." Thomas Garrett of Wilmington, Delaware (born of Quaker parents in Upper Darby, Pennsylvania, in 1789), was one of the most devoted anti-slavery workers and one of the foremost builders of the Underground Railroad. He was first awakened to the iniquity of slavery by the kidnapping of a coloured woman who was working in the Garrett family and whom he immediately set about to rescue. From that event onward he was always ready for any sacrifice or for any heroic enterprise which would assist a slave to attain freedom. His house was open to

[1] This letter is given in Jared Sparks' *Writings of Washington* (edition of 1891), vol. xi. p. 24.

shelter any fugitive of colour at any hour of the day or night, and from his house the way of escape to permanent safety was very sure, since throughout his entire career not a single slave that passed through his hands was ever recaptured. He was a man of tremendous conviction, absolutely fearless, abounding in ingenuity, and generally more than a match for the irate slave-pursuers whom he baffled. Once, however, the angry slave-holders succeeded in getting an indictment against Thomas Garrett and had him at their mercy. The case—a civil case—was tried before Chief Justice Taney in New Castle, Delaware, in the May term of 1848. Such heavy damages were awarded against Thomas Garrett that his entire property was swept away. Turning to the Judge after the manifestly unjust sentence had been pronounced upon him, Thomas Garrett calmly said: "Judge, thou hast not left me a dollar, but I wish to say to thee, and to all in this court-room, that if any one knows of a fugitive who wants a shelter and a friend send him to Thomas Garrett and he will befriend him."[1] His friends in this crisis rallied around him and supplied him with capital and, though sixty years of age when the misfortune befell him, he once more succeeded in acquiring a competence, and without any fear of further losses he continued to pilot his coloured friends to havens of freedom. It is possible to judge of the efficiency of this staunch Quaker "station agent" in Wilmington by his remark when the war ended slavery. He said: "The war came a little too soon for my business. I wanted to help off three thousand slaves. I had only got up to twenty-seven hundred!"[2]

Jacob Lindley (1744–1814), a member of New Garden Meeting, Pennsylvania, and in the course of time a favoured Minister of the gospel, was one of the earliest Friends in Chester County to assist fugitives. He aided many escaped slaves before the Underground Railroad was organized and for many years his home near what

[1] Wilbur H. Siebert, *The Underground Railroad*, p. 110.

[2] For a good sketch of Thomas Garrett, see Wm. Still's *The Underground Railroad* (Phila., 1872), pp. 623-641.

is now Avondale was a safe refuge for the hunted negro. With the insight of a spiritual seer he saw that the most solemn consequences must result from the injustice inflicted upon so many innocent sufferers, and he predicted the woe which the long continued sin must entail. "I am," he declared, "awfully awakened into fear for our poor country."[1]

Isaac and Dinah Mendenhall (born respectively in 1806 and 1807) were pioneer anti-slavery leaders in Kennett Township, Pennsylvania, and they aided several hundred slaves to gain their freedom.

John and Hannah Cox (born in 1786 and 1787) were life-long anti-slavery workers at Longwood in Chester County, Pennsylvania, and keepers of an important "station" on the underground line. It was of them that Whittier wrote his "Golden Wedding of Longwood," in which the poet gave thanks

> For your steady faith and courage in that dark and evil time
> When the Golden Rule was treason, and to feed the hungry, crime;
> For the poor slave's house of refuge when the hounds were on his track,
> And saint and sinner, Church and State, joined hands to send him back.
> Blessings upon you!—What you did for each sad, suffering one
> So homeless, faint, and naked, unto our Lord was done!

Farther to the west in the same State another fine group of sturdy Friends served the slave cause in noble fashion. Only a few names out of many can be mentioned here. William Wright (born 1788) and his devoted wife Phebe, a daughter of the high-minded Wierman family, made their home at York Springs in Adams County, one of the most famous of all the "stations" on the underground road. William Wright was one of the founders of the Free Soil Party, and a prominent figure in his section of the State. Daniel Gibbons, who married a sister of Phebe Wright, was another Quaker who rendered yeoman service to the cause. He was a man of decision, firmness, independence of mind, and of

[1] Dr. R. C. Smedley's *History of the Underground Railroad* (Lancaster, Pa., 1883), pp. 255, 256.

real heroic fibre. His home was about six miles east of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and here for fifty-six years he conducted a saving "station" which passed on not less than one thousand slaves. Thomas Whitson and Lindley Coates were two more quiet but inflexible Quaker station-keepers in the Lancaster County section.

In New England, Arnold Buffum, first President of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, was a strong pillar of the cause, serving it in a multitude of ways and giving the devotion of a faithful life to assist slaves and to promote freedom. His father, William Buffum, was a member of the old Rhode Island Abolition Society of Colonial times, of which Arnold was also a member in his youth. But the influence of the cotton industry and abortive enthusiasm for colonization which led many anti-slavery advocates astray, "consigned this old society to the tomb" about 1830, to use the words of Arnold Buffum himself.[1] In 1831 Arnold says that upon his return from England he could find only twelve persons prepared to unite in reviving anti-slavery agitation. These men, "who had not bowed the knee to Baal," formed the nucleus of the New England Anti-Slavery Society which was destined to play a great rôle in the history of the abolition movement. Arnold Buffum's daughter, Elizabeth Buffum Chace, was one of the most active members of the "Female Anti-Slavery Society" and she maintained a very effective "station" for the Underground Railroad in her house at Valley Falls, Rhode Island.[2] Abby Kelley was one of the most powerful of the New England leaders. She first came into public prominence in 1838 when the mob stormed and burned Pennsylvania Hall in Philadelphia. In the midst of the tumult Abby Kelley, then of Lynn, Massachusetts, said: "It is not the crashing of those windows, nor the maddening rush of those voices, that calls me before you. Those pass unheeded by me.

[1] In a letter to Walter Edgerton in Edgerton's *History of the Separation in Indiana Y.M.* (Cincinnati, 1856), p. 26.

[2] See Wyman's *Elizabeth Buffum Chace* (Boston, 1914), 2 vols.

But it is the small voice within, which may not be withstood, that bids me open my mouth for the dumb, that bids me plead the cause of God's perishing poor."

After her marriage to Stephen S. Foster her home was in Worcester, Massachusetts, and both she and her husband were devoted to the work of assisting individual slaves and to the advancement of abolition. Samuel May, who knew all the workers in the great cause, called Abby Kelley "our Joan of Arc," and spoke of her as "outranking" all the other workers.[1]

New Bedford was, through all the intense years of anti-slavery agitation, an active centre of the underground route. William C. Taber and Joseph Ricketson assisted Frederick Douglass to achieve his freedom and to make his successful career while the Roaches, Rodmans, Grinnells, Arnolds, and Howlands were, in public and in private, co-labourers with the abolitionists and with the "vigilants," or underground committees.[2]

Jethro and Anne Mitchell served the underground system in Newport, Rhode Island, and Daniel Mitchell of Pawtucket made his house a "station" for fugitives and gave himself freely to the general cause.

John G. Whittier, who belongs in the small list of the great creative statesmen of the abolition movement, was, without any question, the most influential Friend who worked for the liberation of slaves and for the destruction of the system.[3]

Turning to the leaders in the western section we find one name standing out in clear pre-eminence,—that of Levi Coffin, who won and who deserved the popular title of "President of the Underground Railroad." He was born at New Garden, North Carolina, in 1798. He himself dates his conversion to abolitionism to an experience of seeing a "coffle" of slaves in chains go by the house when he was seven years old, and he heard one of them say: "We have been taken from our wives and

[1] Wyman's *Elizabeth Buffum Chace* (Boston, 1914), vol. ii. p. 274.

[2] James N. Buffum of Lynn, Massachusetts, deserves mention for his faithful services, especially for his public work with Frederick Douglass.

[3] For the account of Whittier see chapter xvi.

children and they chain us so that we cannot escape and get back to them."[1] Levi and his cousin, Vestal Coffin, organized a "station" of what in the course of time became the Underground Railroad. Their rendezvous was in the pine thickets near New Garden and here they hid many runaway slaves and aided them to make their escape northward.[2]

In 1826 Levi Coffin migrated westward and settled in Wayne County, Indiana, near Newport (now Fountain City), where his house, located at the converging point of three underground systems from the south, became one of the most successful and one of the most famous "stations" in the entire network of lines connecting the slave South and the free North. He says:

> Seldom a week passed without our receiving passengers by this mysterious road. We found it necessary to be always prepared to receive such company and probably care for them. We knew not what night or what hour of the night we would be roused from slumber by a gentle rap at the door. That was the signal announcing the arrival of a train of the Underground Railroad, for the locomotive did not whistle or make any unnecessary noise.

He continues his interesting account:

> I would invite them, in a low tone, to come in, and they would follow me into the darkened house without a word, for we knew not who might be watching and listening. When they were all safely inside and the door fastened, I would cover the windows, strike a light and build a good fire. By this time my wife would be up and preparing victuals for them, and in a short time the cold and hungry fugitives would be made comfortable. I would accompany the conductor of the train to the stable, and care for the horses, that had, perhaps, been driven twenty-five or thirty miles that night, through the cold and rain. The fugitives would rest on pallets before the fire the rest of the night. Frequently wagon-loads of passengers from the different lines have met at our house, having no previous knowledge of each other. The companies varied in number, from two or three fugitives to seventeen.[3]

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[1] *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1880), p. 13.
[2] See Weeks' *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, p. 242.
[3] *Reminiscences*, p. 112.

In 1844 Levi Coffin, in company with William Beard, a Minister of the Society of Friends and a diligent worker for the great cause, went to Canada to visit the colonies of coloured refugees established there and to make a careful survey of their condition. This was the first of several visits made for a similar purpose and thus this single-minded philanthropist not only aided the escaping slave but also looked after his welfare when he became settled on free soil. During the twenty years of active service at Newport, Levi Coffin and his wife received and passed on more than an average of one hundred slaves each year.[1] In 1847 he moved to Cincinnati, where instead of decreasing his anti-slavery activities and his efforts to "facilitate" the eager fugitives, he increased them and won the title of "President of the Road" which in later life he modestly explained as follows:

> The title was given to me by slave-hunters who could not find their fugitive slaves after they got into my hands. I accepted the office thus conferred upon me, and . . . endeavoured to perform my part faithfully. Government [by freeing all slaves] has taken the work out of our hands. The stock of the Underground Railroad has gone down in the market, the business is spoiled, the road is now of no further use.[2]

In Cincinnati, Coffin became intimate with Harriet Beecher Stowe, and he gave her no little valuable assistance in the creation of her epoch-making story, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, in which Levi Coffin and his wife appear as Simeon and Rachel Halliday. His *Reminiscences* are full of interesting hairbreadth escapes, scenes with furious pursuers, attacks by mobs, and cases of individual slaves who were piloted to peace and safety and prosperity, the most notable case being that of Eliza Harris and her child, made famous by *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

Daniel Osborn, a member of Alum Creek Meeting in Delaware County, Ohio, was a worker on a large scale, turning his home for many years into a "station" on the

[1] This average seems to have been fully maintained during the next thirteen years, so that Coffin's total number of slaves rescued must have been between 3000 and 3500. See *Reminiscences*, p. 694.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 712.

underground line. Alum Creek, like Mount Pleasant in the same State, and like Newport in Indiana, was a very active centre of anti-slavery sentiment and propaganda. A single leaf of a diary kept by Daniel Osborn shows a record of forty-seven slaves received and transmitted in the Alum Creek Settlement during a period of five months in 1844. This is thought to be a fair average for this "station."[1] Aaron L. Benedict was another active "station-keeper" at Alum Creek. He reports entertaining no less than sixty runaways in one month in 1854, having had twenty sit at his table at one time, which is a record number, as even Levi Coffin's greatest number at one time was seventeen.[2] Richmond, Indiana, the Quaker town *par excellence* of the middle west, was another "live" centre of activity, though, as we shall see, it had its cautious and conservative wing. John Charles may be mentioned as one of the most fearless and zealous helpers in the underground system at this place.

Out on what was in the 'forties the far-flung frontier, in the Quaker settlements of Iowa, the spirit of freedom was strong and the Underground had also its hidden "stations." Salem, the first Quaker settlement west of the Mississippi, was an important point on the underground route from Missouri to Canada. Salem was only twenty-five miles from the Missouri border, and once having covered this narrow strip of intervening territory, the slave was almost sure of his freedom, for Elihu Frazier, Thomas Clarkson and their co-labourers knew how to baffle the wisest slave-hunters, who regarded Salem as a "nigger-stealing" town. On one memorable occasion a large band of slave-hunters—some estimated the number as high as three hundred, though it was probably much smaller—"invaded" the town, tried to intimidate the Quaker inhabitants and minutely searched the neighbourhood for escaped slaves. They failed, however, on all their counts. The settlers were too shrewd for their visitors and they proved not to be easily intimidated.[3]

[1] See Siebert's *Underground Railroad*, p. 346. [2] *Ibid.* p. 76.

[3] For fuller details see Louis T. Jones' *The Quakers of Iowa* (Iowa City, Iowa, 1914), pp. 189-191 and notes.

It must not be supposed that these few leading Quaker anti-slavery workers represent in any adequate degree the massive contribution which Friends made to the abolition cause. Behind every person singled out by name there was always a submerged group far more important in power and influence than the starred name, as the submerged part of an iceberg is always many times greater than the part the eye sees. The force and momentum of Quaker movements must always be estimated, not solely in terms of vocal leaders, but in terms of the silent, ruminating groups who nourish convictions and who *act* when the time comes for action. These dumb, voiceless groups, scattered from the Atlantic coast-line west to the pioneer borders, were slow in the formation of their insight and cautious in their methods, but they were for the most part settled in their minds that slavery was wicked and that in some way it must be abolished.

It would be an historical mistake, however, to imply that the Society of Friends was a unit in the championship of the cause of the slave. There were in this matter, as in all concrete and complex issues, many diverse currents of opinion and some back-wash movements both in thought and practice. The situation in this particular in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) comes out very clearly in a letter written by Joseph Sturge during his American visit in 1841. He says:

> There is such a powerful body against uniting with others, or, indeed, taking any active part in the Abolition cause, that I fear very little progress will be made in this Yearly Meeting. For I found that Stephen Grellet considered that if he publicly joined the abolitionists [with whom he strongly sympathized] of other religious denominations, it must be at the expense of his influence with the Society.[1]

Joseph Sturge found the condition no more satisfactory in New England.

> "It is," he writes, "about as bad as the worst description we have had of it can make it, as far as the leading influences of the Society are concerned, but there is a very large portion who most

[1] *The Memoirs of Joseph Sturge* (London, 1864), p. 231.

decidedly sympathize with the ground we take in England, and yet these are so entirely silent in their meetings that a comparative few manage to have things entirely their own way. . . . In this meeting it is admitted that an active abolitionist is, by an understanding of the ruling influences, generally omitted on meeting appointments."[1]

A number of the prominent leaders, in the early stages of the abolition cause in different sections of the country, were made to feel that they were not "in good standing" in their meetings, that they were discriminated against, and, in some instances, they were disowned.[2] This unkind, or even hostile, treatment of individual Quaker abolition workers did not always mean that the meeting which slighted them or disciplined them was lacking in moral disapproval of slavery. It often meant that the cautious and conservative members of the meeting disapproved of the methods employed by the enthusiastic anti-slavery worker or abolitionist. Friends at this date were deeply entrenched in their conservative position that every effort in behalf of "truth" must be made wisely, cautiously, soberly, discreetly and *in the life*, *i.e.* with the meeting corporately united behind the effort. There were very many Friends at this time who strongly disapproved of types of work and effort which threw their members into intimate affiliation with religious denominations which held views and maintained practices which Friends could not sanction. The complaints which were brought against Isaac T. Hopper and his associates were the usual charges, namely, that the members of the anti-slavery societies were "led to mix indiscriminately with people of other denominations, and were brought into contact with 'hireling clergymen'."[3] This dread of "contact" and this

[1] *The Memoirs of Joseph Sturge* (London, 1864), p. 237. This attitude comes out strongly in Whittier's correspondence.

[2] The most notable cases of disownment were those of Isaac T. Hopper and his son-in-law, James S. Gibbons, and Charles Marriott of New York City Meeting (Hicksite), a course which led to the resignation of Isaac T. Hopper's daughter, Abby Hopper Gibbons, wife of James S. Gibbons. These Friends were charged with being "concerned in the publication and support of a paper [*The Anti-Slavery Standard*] calculated to excite discord and disunity among Friends." This occurred in 1842. A little before this date Uxbridge Monthly Meeting in New England disowned Abby Kelley.

[3] See *Life of Isaac T. Hopper*, p. 391.

phobia of hireling ministry persisted even after slavery was abolished and prevented Friends from undertaking many lines of co-operation in good causes. Strict Friends thus challenged what seemed to them the compromises involved in co-operation and fellowship with non-Quaker anti-slavery workers, and they stood out for the old-time isolation and "peculiar people" idea. They felt that their anti-slavery advocates were unconcerned to uphold historic Quaker "testimonies," and that in their methods of work they were endangering the precious legacy from the past. All these points must be considered in order to be fair to those who seemed to the fiery leaders dull and unsympathetic. The rank and file of the Society were, too, afraid of the political views and teachings of some of their abolition members, and they regarded them as dangerous zealots in a cause whose milder advocacy they approved. Whittier often felt that his own people were lukewarm and he was swept by a kind of sense of outrage when the Yearly Meeting at Newport, Rhode Island, in 1837, closed Friends' meeting-houses to the use of anti-slavery lecturers. He wrote to his English friend, Joseph Sturge, that his own work for slaves had widened his sympathies, enlarged his charity, and had given him a deeper sense of universal brotherhood. "This cause," he declared, "has been to me what the vision on the house-top was to Peter—it has destroyed all narrow sectarian prejudices and *made me willing to be a man among men.*"[1] But where one enlightened Friend had gained this broad outlook and humanitarian spirit, there were multitudes who were still bound in the swaddling clothes of form and sect. The cautious guardianship of meeting-houses which Friends exercised and to which Whittier and others objected was, however, no sure index of lukewarmness. The more cautious and conservative element of the Society has generally found expression through "property committees," and this element has usually endeavoured to keep meeting-houses "sacred" for the one distinctive function for which they

[1] *Memoirs of Joseph Sturge*, p. 229.

were built. The story of the struggle for the liberation and *redemption* of meeting-houses for community causes is a long story, and instances of "denial" must not be interpreted too narrowly.

But after all the necessary apologies for the narrow horizon and the conservative customs of Friends in the 'thirties and early 'forties have been made, it must be admitted that many Friends in all parts of the country shared the attitude which prevailed in the country at large, were dull to the great moral issue and disapproved of anti-slavery agitation. They were satisfied with colonization schemes that provided for the manumitted slaves and the surplus coloured population; they fell back upon the comfortable hope that in some way in His own good time God would open the Red Sea and liberate the oppressed as He did of old!

When one goes back into this dull atmosphere, it becomes easy to understand how oppressive it must have been to the fiery spirits of the reformers who had been shaken wide awake, and who had seen a great light break on the darkness. It seemed impossible for them to endure the lethargy and opposition existing inside the Society. They expected the world to be cold and unfriendly, but they at least looked for warmth at their own hearth!

One memorable catastrophe occurred in this connection, culminating in a "separation," which must be reviewed in sufficient detail for the modern reader to understand the issue and to appreciate the tragedy. One of the most intense of all the anti-slavery groups in the Society of Friends in America was that at Newport, Indiana. Charles Osborn, a distinguished Minister of the gospel, a famous traveller, and the editor of the first paper, as we have seen, to advocate unconditional and immediate emancipation, was a prominent member of this group. Levi Coffin, a Nestor of the cause, was another. Joined in spirit with these two leaders were many men and women who had sacrificed and suffered for the slaves as though bound with them, and who felt convinced that a religion which centred inward from the

real tasks of the world was a Pharisaic thing and not worth preserving. This intense attitude and the existing impatience toward lethargy and compromise were raised to a new degree of heat by a visit of Arnold Buffum of New England to the west in 1840. He held an anti-slavery meeting in the Newport meeting-house and throughout Wayne County he vigorously called Friends to the great moral issue of the age. His visit and his white-hot messages made indecision difficult. Some, as a result, were added to the anti-slavery forces, but at the same time some became more clearly aware than before of the dangers involved in the abolition movement. A new monthly periodical, edited by Henry Way and Benjamin Stanton, was started at Newport, called *The Free Labour Advocate and Anti-Slavery Chronicle*, and the movement to "abstain from articles produced by extorted labour" was now pushed forward with new zeal. A State Anti-Slavery Convention was held about this time at Newport, which was recognized as "the hot-bed of abolitionism," and the leaders of the forward movement were everywhere increasing their efforts to organize anti-slavery societies in local communities, to arrange for extensive propaganda lectures, to spread the practice of using only the produce of free-labour and to oppose colonization schemes. Many of the prominent members of Indiana Yearly Meeting were very loyal supporters of Henry Clay, who visited Richmond at this time and attended the meeting there. The Friends who controlled the destinies of the Yearly Meeting believed that his political policies were wise and prudent and would eventually bring a solution of the vexed problems of the hour.[1] They regretted undue agitation, and they feared

[1] Charles Osborn, speaking of Clay's visit in 1842, says, "On First Day in the time of the Yearly Meeting Henry Clay, a noted slave-holder, and one who it was understood was seeking the Whig nomination for the Presidency, attended the public meeting, and, as I have been told by many, such assurances of respect and a hearty welcome were, perhaps, never before given to any man on his first visit to a meeting of Friends. Also I have been further informed, that before he left the city of Richmond, particular care was taken by some Friends to let him know that Friends had no sympathy for, neither did they take any part with, abolitionists" (Osborn's *Journal*, p. 418).

that the "advanced" wing in Indiana Yearly Meeting would prove a disturbing element both for the Society and for the country. They decided to check it and restrain it before it grew to be unmanageable. In 1841 the Meeting for Sufferings drafted a restraining document which Indiana Yearly Meeting adopted the same year and sent down to the Quarterly Meetings, advising the members not to join the anti-slavery societies or open the meeting-houses for anti-slavery lectures. The document says:

> Information having reached this meeting that some of our meeting-houses have been opened for the purpose of holding anti-slavery meetings and delivering lectures, we feel concerned to advise against such a practice, as being contrary to the general usage of the Society, and of hurtful tendency to our members.

The document further expresses the conservative position as follows:

> As the subject of slavery is producing great excitement in our land, we again tenderly advise our dear friends not to join in association with those who do not profess to wait for divine direction in such important concerns; lest if *we overact the part called for at our hands*, we injure the righteous cause, and suffer loss ourselves; comparable to what is said of Ephraim of old, "he mixed himself among the people," "strangers have devoured his strength and he knoweth it not."[1]

The next year (1842) the Yearly Meeting proceeded to *enforce* its position, since the anti-slavery members had apparently ignored its "advice." The Yearly Meeting decided that no person should be appointed on a committee until his name had been approved by a group of Friends selected for this purpose, with the tacit understanding that no person should be chosen for any service if he had opposed "the advice and travail of the body," in other words, if he were an abolitionist. At the same time the Meeting for Sufferings reported that eight of its members, among whom was the venerable Charles Osborn, were disqualified for service in the meeting, since they were understood to be opposed to "the advice and

[1] *Minutes of Indiana Y.M.*, 1841.

travail" of the Yearly Meeting. They were thereupon eliminated. A further minute of advice was issued to the membership, warning against "participating in the excitement and over-active zeal of anti-slavery societies," and urging caution about the kind of reading admitted into families, "as the effect of all those books and papers must be pernicious which have the tendency to set one part of the Society against another."

These proceedings seemed to the Friends who were conscientiously dedicated to the abolition of slavery an unjust interference with their rights, privileges and convictions. Before the Yearly Meeting concluded in 1842, a Friend of anti-slavery views rose in the assembly and proposed that those Friends who were favourable to the anti-slavery cause, and who felt aggrieved by the proceedings of the Yearly Meeting, should remain in the house at the rise of the meeting for the purpose of a conference.[1] The use of the house was forthwith denied them, and after various subordinate conferences a large gathering of anti-slavery Friends met at Newport in January 1843 and decided to "reorganize" Indiana Yearly Meeting upon a basis of "true principles," in other words, this group concluded to "separate" from the body to which it belonged. The separation convention was held at Newport the 6th of February 1843, and a Declaration was issued, reviewing the points at issue and setting forth the ground for divisive action. At the same time Epistles were sent to all the American Yearly Meetings except Indiana, and to London and Dublin Yearly Meetings.[2] Those who separated formed five Quarterly Meetings, twelve Monthly Meetings, and they proceeded to establish a Yearly Meeting known as Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends. There were probably between fifteen hundred and two thousand members in the new body, though the account in *The Friend* makes the numbers considerably less than this. The dreary con-

[1] Edgerton's *History of the Separation*, p. 61.

[2] The important documents are printed in Edgerton's *History of the Separation*. A valuable account of the separation, favourable to the larger body, is given in *The Friend* (Philadelphia), vol. xvii. pp. 85, 86, and 93, 94.

troversies which followed this course of action are devoid of interest in our busy age. The "declarations" and "counter-declarations" and "reviews of declarations" which were issued on both sides are now dry as dust. They may well remain in their tomb. It is a fact, however, of historical importance that Indiana Yearly Meeting tried to quench the growing abolition movement, used methods inconsistent with Quaker principles of liberty and forced its bolder, braver members either to suppress their convictions, or to go off by themselves. The dilemma was not as sharp as it seemed then, and greater patience and a larger spirit of endurance on the part of oppressed members would soon have brought them to the end they sought, but they would not wait in submission and suffer, and therefore they took the drastic course and sundered their relations with the body. The "separationists" were prominent and gifted. They had influence and standing, and they hoped to win the support of London Yearly Meeting. In this hope they were bitterly disappointed. London Yearly Meeting in 1845 adopted "an Address to those who have withdrawn from Indiana Yearly Meeting." It did not discuss the grounds at issue, it gave the separatists no encouragement. It strongly appealed to them to abandon their separate meetings and return to the mother-body. It further appointed a committee of distinguished Friends to visit Indiana, and to labour for the end proposed in the Address. The committee consisted of George Stacey, Clerk of the Yearly Meeting, Josiah Forster, William Forster and John Allen. The members of this delegation attended the sessions of Indiana Yearly Meeting in the autumn of 1845, but they declined to attend the Yearly Meeting of the Anti-Slavery Friends, held at Newport. They formed their point of view almost exclusively from intercourse with those who represented one side of the controversy. They seem to have assumed as sound the position of the Address, that the only tenable course open to them was to effect a decision on the part of the Anti-Slavery Friends to return to the

ancient fold. Finally a committee of Anti-Slavery Friends visited the English delegation and endeavoured to make the members of it see that the difficulty was by no means a one-sided one, and that no "return" was possible until the larger body changed its sentiments and its methods. Before leaving the country the English Friends decided to go to Newport for a conference with Anti-Slavery Friends, though they were very cautious in their intercourse and declined to be entertained by Anti-Slavery Friends. Levi Coffin succeeded in inducing them to call at his house for a few minutes, on the plea that he had "something important to show them which they would be likely to remember after they had returned to their own country." Coffin's own account of the episode is worth reproducing:

When we arrived at our house, I seated them in the parlour, excused myself for a moment, and went into a back room where there were fourteen fugitive slaves, who had arrived the night before. An old white-haired grandmother was there, with several of her children and grandchildren; one of her daughters had a child three months old. I invited them all to follow me into the parlour to see the four English Friends, telling them the gentlemen lived on the other side of the ocean where there was no slavery, and were true friends to the slave. This seemed to remove all fear from them, and they followed me into the parlour. I had them to stand in a semicircle, and introduced them to the English Friends as fugitive slaves fleeing from the land of whips and chains, and seeking safety in the Queen's dominions. The Friends all rose and shook hands with them. Taking the child in my arms, I said: "See this innocent babe, which was born a slave," and handed it to George Stacey, who stood near me. He took it in his arms and fondled it, for it was a pleasant-looking child. All the Friends seemed deeply interested, and asked the fugitives many questions. The old woman seemed to be quite intelligent, and answered their questions readily.

William Forster said: "It is a long road to Canada; do you think you will ever reach that country?" He did not know the facilities of the Underground Railroad.

The old negress replied: "De Lord has been with us dis far, an' I trust He will go with us to de end of de journey."

William Forster said: "Thou art old and feeble."

"Yes, massa," she replied, "but I'se been prayin' de good

Lord a great while to let me breathe one mouthful of free air before I died, and bress His great name, He opened de way so dat we got off safe and He has guided us to dis good man's house, and he and his good wife has give us clothes to make us warm, and when we rest a little so we can stand more night travel, he says he will send us on. May de Lord bress him! You see, gent'man, dat de Lord is good to us and helps us."

Many more questions were asked by the Friends, and answered by the old woman and others of the party. The Friends seemed so interested that they hardly knew how to close the interview. When the fugitives retired, I turned to George Stacey and said:

"For pleading the cause of innocent babes like the one thou held in thy arms and sheltering the fugitives, such as you have seen, we have been proscribed. Now, my dear friends, if you fully understood the difference of sentiment that exists, and the course pursued by some of the leading members of Indiana Yearly Meeting which led to our separation, you could not advise the discontinuance of our organization, while they persist in their course toward us. Your efforts have strengthened the opposition to our labours."[1]

One of the Quarterly Meetings composing the new body of Anti-Slavery Friends was that of Salem in Iowa. The leaders of the anti-slavery forces here were Aaron Street, Jr., Thomas Frazier, Elwood Osborn, Henderson Lewelling, Marmaduke Jay, James Comer, Eli Jessup, Nathan Hammer, Jonathan Cook, "and honourable women not a few." They with their associates had withdrawn from the larger body and set up their own meetings, though Elwood Osborn soon apologized for his "deviation" and requested his meeting to reinstate him in membership.[2] The English Friends visited the Iowa community and endeavoured to induce them "to relinquish their separate meetings" and to win them back to their old allegiance. The Anti-Slavery Friends realized that "our English brethren did not know what they were asking of us when they required our return to those from whom we had separated, without a removal of the causes of the separation." With great plainness of speech the Anti-Slavery Friends told their visitors what they thought of the "extraordinary" course pursued by London Yearly

[1] *Reminiscences*, pp. 239-241. [2] See Jones' *The Quakers of Iowa*, p. 138.

Meeting and its delegation in dealing with the matter so emphatically without first investigating the grounds and causes of the trouble. They declared that they could not return to the body from which they had separated without a "virtual surrender of their principles," since there could be no restoration of unity until full privilege was granted "to continue active exertions in the anti-slavery cause, as Truth may dictate."[1] The Iowa Anti-Slavery Friends, as the visit proceeded, became very emphatic in their expressions of disapproval of the course which English Friends had taken, even charging that the tendency of their labour in America had been to "widen the breach" between the two parties, and to "retard the work of emancipation in the United States, by throwing the weight of the influence of the Society of Friends in England and America against the honest labourers in the cause."[2]

Fortunately for the main cause, and for the Society of Friends itself, the division in the Society and the visit of the delegation did not have the predicted effect. It produced instead a "counter-reformation." The crisis brought the whole question of slavery and the problem of how to combat it with fresh force and vigour to the consciousness of concerned Friends everywhere. The catastrophe in Indiana Yearly Meeting, and the mistakes on both sides which occasioned it, gave the needed shock of awakening in the other Yearly Meetings. The restrained course pursued by London Yearly Meeting and the delegation, while objectionable and provoking to the extreme abolitionists, had a salutary and constructive influence upon the rest of the Society. The two Forsters, who were in the delegation, were among the leading abolition workers in Great Britain. They were heart and soul dedicated to the liberation of slaves everywhere, they travelled extensively in behalf of freedom, and their glowing faith in freedom, and fervent enthusiasm for

[1] Edgerton, *op. cit.* pp. 338, 339.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 340. Writers in the columns of *The British Friend* of the period expressed sympathy with the Anti-Slavery Friends, and mildly criticized the course which London Yearly Meeting and its deputation had taken.

human brotherhood worked all the more powerfully on the main body of Friends because of their caution in dealing with the extreme wing. With all their restraint and moderation, they conveyed to American Friends the wider vision and the broader human outlook of Friends in Great Britain, and thus the visit of the delegation was effective, even if it was not, at the moment of the crisis, *healing*.[1]

Much of the changed attitude and outlook of American Friends, which began to be manifest about this time, was no doubt due to the spirit and work of the great philanthropist, Joseph Sturge. He visited the eastern Yearly Meetings in 1841 in company with John G. Whittier. He found much lethargy, as we have seen, but the kindling power of his personality, and the remarkable quality of his own consecration to human freedom, worked silently wherever he went. Before leaving America he wrote a *Letter to the Society of Friends* (printed, New York, 1841), which had also a profound influence. Whittier frequently refers to this two-fold influence of Joseph Sturge. He saw even before his English friend had left our shores that "the iron is beginning to melt!"[2] In his first letter to Joseph Sturge after his return to England, Whittier reports that "some of our *hardest* [members in New England] have been softened by thy Letter," and he tells him that the fruits of his visit in Philadelphia have been abundant. He quotes in his letter to Joseph Sturge a fine passage from one which he had received at the time from Thomas Evans of Philadelphia:

> Amidst all the darkness which has covered our horizon on the awful subject of the negro's wrongs, I feel a settled conviction that a brighter day has already begun to dawn.[3]

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[1] In 1853 William Forster, with Josiah Forster, John Candler, and William Holmes, came to America as a deputation of London Yearly Meeting to present an Address to the President and Congress of the United States, and to the Governors of the States, expressing the concern of Friends for the termination of slavery. The deputation had visited the President, many of the Governors of the Northern States, and most of the Southern States, when William Forster was taken seriously ill at Friendsville, Tennessee, where he died in January 1854, and was buried in the graveyard adjoining the Friendsville meeting-house.

[2] *Memoirs of Joseph Sturge*, p. 245.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 246.

Thomas Evans' prophecy was fully verified. The dawn steadily grew and increased. The real meaning of slavery gradually reached the conscience of Friends, and they saw that rose-water would not cure the disease. Before this critical decade (1840–1850) had passed, the dawn was growing into full day. Gradually the Anti-Slavery Friends returned to the body from which they had gone out, and the schism which could not be healed by the visit of the delegation healed itself through the slow process of time, though some few of those who separated, as would be expected, never came back.[1] From 1845 onward to the outbreak of the Civil War American Friends became a steadily increasing moral influence in the country, and when the crisis came they were, with few and negligible exceptions, solidly in line on the side of emancipation. They had learned their lesson, and had come out into the light. The illusion of colonization passed away with time, and the hope which Friends had vainly placed in the political leaders of the old parties waned and vanished. Schemes of compromise and temporizing expedients revealed their futility and fell away. Clear as sunrise rose the unescapable moral issue, and Friends everywhere came to see that slavery must be ended. John G. Whittier's political leadership was one of the great factors in the formation of the final attitude of American Friends. He always pinned his faith, not to agitation, not to enthusiasm for reform in the abstract, not to the proclamation of vague ideals, but to the slow formation of a political party dedicated to the cause and to the creation of an irresistible political force. For this he planned and toiled, to this he gave the large gifts of his

[1] There were separations also in Indiana, Ohio and Genesee Yearly Meetings (Hicksite) between the years 1843 and 1850. The issue was primarily freedom for anti-slavery effort, though other issues were also involved. These separations have been carefully studied by the late Allen C. Thomas in *Friends Hist. Bull.* for Nov. 1920. One more small "separation" occurred before the moral awakening was complete. This was in the limits of Kennett Monthly Meeting in Pennsylvania. Some of the most active anti-slavery workers in this meeting separated themselves from the main body because the membership was so slow in taking a forward attitude on the moral issue. The Friends who withdrew, or who were, as in some instances, disowned, formed in 1853 "The Society of Progressive Friends of Longwood," which has had an interesting history in works of reform.

genius, and when the hour came Friends were with him. They had been, as all religious bodies are, slow in their response to the advanced leaders and prophet-spirits among them, but when once they caught the vision, they proved to be a great asset to the moral cause of that age.

II

Friends' Work for Coloured Freedmen

After the battle of Antietam, on the 22nd of September 1862, President Lincoln, as a war measure, issued a proclamation declaring that on the first day of January 1863 "all persons held as slaves within any state or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free." On the designated date the President, invoking "the gracious favour of Almighty God," issued his famous proclamation, declaring all slaves within the domain of the United States forever free. Even before the President's proclamation was issued, many coloured people had been uprooted from their old soil by the conditions of the war. As soon as the northern armies began to penetrate the fringes of the southern States, the coloured people seized the opportunity to escape from slavery, and to flee within the Union lines. They presented a wholly novel problem, and at the same time they made a powerful appeal to charitable hearts. They were *free*, but they were totally destitute and utterly helpless. General Benjamin F. Butler at Fortress Monroe was the first person to solve the novel problem officially. In 1861 he declared slaves to be "contraband of war." Public sentiment in the North had, from the beginning of the war, been calling for a definite blow directly against slavery. President Lincoln, however, bided his time and waited for the moment when his Emancipation Act would bring the most advantageous consequences as "a fit and necessary war measure." It was a great stroke of international policy as well as "an act of justice," as Lincoln

himself called it. It, however, in liberating three million slaves, untaught, untrained to care for themselves, and possessed of no property whatever, produced immediately immense problems of relief and of education.

American Friends instantly realized that they were divinely called to meet this crisis, and they rose to the great tasks with a deep sense that they were under the highest commission. The spirit of service swept over all the American Yearly Meetings, and brought a touch of fresh life to the entire membership. It was to a very large degree a young Friends' movement, led and directed by the rising generation. In all parts of the country there were groups of young men and of young women who had been awakened and thrilled by the preaching of English Ministers who had travelled among the American meetings, infusing a spirit of philanthropy and kindling a new religious fervour; men, for example, like William and Josiah Forster, John Pease and John Hodgkin, the first of whom had laid down his life in America in the cause of the coloured race. There were also Ministers in the home meetings who were beginning to make their message powerfully felt, and who were arousing the new generation to a new sense of responsibility. Eli and Sybil Jones were probably the best-known Ministers of the time, and were exerting a strong influence wherever they travelled. They were, too, both dedicated to the cause of the coloured race. Elizabeth L. Comstock, who had come from England and had settled in America in 1854, was during the period of the Civil War one of the great liberating spiritual forces in the Society, appealing especially to young Friends, and calling them to active service. Whittier's poetry stirred all young Friends, and made them eager to show their loyalty to the ideals of the Society, while at the same time it put the freedmen's cause in its full light. The war had drawn some of the young men of the Society into the army, and it had challenged all the men of military age to search their hearts to discover where their central duty lay. Those who felt clearly that they could not fight were as clearly impressed that they could not fold their hands

and do nothing. They seized the opportunity to throw their youthful energy into constructive service for the coloured race for whose liberation the Quaker volunteers in the army believed that they were fighting. The result was the spontaneous uprising of a noble band of earnest, religious young men ready to bear the burdens of the freed slaves and eager to help raise them to real manhood and womanhood. The young women Friends were no less keen for the new service than were the men, and they in fact took the lead in starting definite work for the immediate relief of the "contrabands," as the escaped slaves were called, in the first instance in the District of Columbia, and later along the wide fringe where the Union army moved.

Women Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting about April 1862 organized "An Aid Society" to assist the needy coloured people. This "Women's Aid" of Philadelphia was the first organized agency of Friends which took part in the work of relief for freedmen. A National Freedmen's Relief Association, with Hannibal Hamlin, Vice-President of the United States, as its President, was formed in Washington, even before the Proclamation of Emancipation was actually issued. This National Association asked the Women's Aid to co-operate with it in the work of relief, and the Quaker women of Philadelphia set to work at once to gather funds, to collect old garments, and to make new ones.[1] Early and late these faithful women laboured to clothe the almost naked "contrabands." They set the women in all Quaker communities at work, cutting and sewing. They also began in a tentative way to provide for the elementary education both of the younger and the older black people. When vast numbers of slaves were actually set free through the operation of the Proclamation at the opening of 1863, the greatness of need became quickly evident and the Quaker men throughout the entire country took up the cause and formed Associa-

[1] The first executive committee of the Women's Aid consisted of Sarah W. Cope, Mary Huston, Elizabeth P. Fogg, Hannah E. Kaighn, Mary Scattergood, and Sarah Pennock.

tions for the relief of coloured freedmen. The Friends Association for this purpose in Philadelphia was formed in November 1863, though already for some time before this date the Friends who took the lead in forming the Association had individually been studying the problem and had visited some of the centres in the South where the coloured refugees were massed and crowded together, in want of almost everything that made life possible. Marmaduke C. Cope visited the eastern Virginia section about Yorktown, Hampton and Norfolk. His excellent report is one of the earliest accounts of the conditions of the freedmen, all of whom were destitute and ignorant. Samuel R. Shipley, a little later, made a journey down the Mississippi River, from Cairo to Vicksburg, where he found 50,000 to 60,000 destitute negroes, and he laid the impressive results of his visits to the camps of refugees before the new Association. John S. Hilles went to North Carolina and secured much valuable information of the needs there. Other Friends studied the situation in and around Washington, where there were large numbers of refugees. As soon as the Association was organized an earnest appeal was sent out to "Friends everywhere" to contribute money and clothing, and, "as successors of Woolman and Benezet," to "put our principles into practice." The objects of the Association were to relieve the wants, to provide for the instruction, and to protect the rights of the freedmen of the South.[1]

The Association, in all its efforts efficiently assisted by the Women's Aid Society, bent its earliest efforts to provide physical relief. The government confiscated the

[1] *Friends' Review*, vol. xvii. p. 197. The first officers of the Association and the first Executive Committee were as follows: Samuel R. Shipley, President; John B. Garrett, Secretary; Richard Cadbury, Treasurer. Executive Committee: Marmaduke C. Cope, Chairman Protection of Rights; Anthony M. Kimber, Chairman Finance Committee; Philip C. Garrett, Chairman Purchasing and Forwarding; Benjamin Coates, Chairman Instruction Committee; Joel Cadbury, jr., Chairman Clothing Committee; William Evans, jr., Chairman Publication Committee; Thos. Scattergood, James Whitall, John S. Hilles, Elliston P. Morris, J. Wistar Evans, George Vaux, Henry Haines, Charles Rhoads, Dr. Jas. E. Rhoads, Edward Bettle, Geo. S. Garrett, Ashton Richardson, Richard Mott, and William M. Canby.

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land owned by persons engaged in war against the United States, and this land was temporarily granted for the use of the negroes and was parcelled out into small lots for refugee gardens. The Friends helped the freedmen build little cabins on their garden plots, supplied them with clothes, and started them in living as free people. During the first few months the receipts of the Association amounted to over $53,000, about $10,000 of which was contributed by English Friends. More than twenty thousand garments in this same early period were furnished for the "contrabands." Almost at once, as one of its functions, the Association opened stores where the necessary articles for the maintenance of life could be bought by the freedmen at about cost price, with the allowances of money supplied to them by the government.[1] The next important work undertaken by the Association was the creation of schools and provision for the education of these suddenly emancipated slaves.

Simultaneously the great work of Friends in the middle west was being organized in the Mississippi valley, with the centre of operations around Vicksburg. This work, which was begun under the care of committees of western Yearly Meetings, will be considered later. We shall confine ourselves, for the present, to the activities of the Philadelphia Association with its field of operation along the seaboard. Meetings of the Association were held each month and the officers of it were kept extremely busy with the many lines of effort. Money was liberally contributed at home and abroad, $130,000 being reported as the aggregate of receipts for the first seventeen months.

"Slabtown," a village constituted of roughly built wooden houses, less than two miles from Yorktown, was headquarters for the educational work of the Association,

[1] It is reported in 1865 that the negroes had spent $215,000 in the Friends' co-operative stores. This financial transaction was carried on without any loss of funds on the part of the Association and was estimated to have saved to the freedmen at least $50,000. The original capital for the stores was only $4000. See *Freedmen's Friend* for November 1865.

and within a radius of two miles of "Slabtown" thirteen teachers were employed, each one with large groups of black people, and there was besides one school at Williamsburg, forty miles away, with two teachers, and a school in the city of Washington with six teachers. During the first two years of the work of the Association two thousand coloured people received instruction through the efforts of Friends.[1] While these schools were being formed the Association was organizing and directing extensive farming operations. Bands of coloured people were supplied with seeds and tools, and were given the use of horses, and were taught to do agricultural work. The government assisted and co-operated with Friends in this enterprise, furnishing funds to buy stock and implements for the little farms where necessary, supplying the land, as we have seen, and providing that the blacks who did the work should have half of the crop which they raised. The Friends in charge of this interesting experiment were, however, frequently hampered in their work by nearby military operations, and they were continually forced to see their coloured labourers taken from them to be used as soldiers by the government. Edward W. Holway of New England was the first field superintendent of the work of the Association. Dr. James E. Rhoads of Philadelphia succeeded him for a short interim period and then James Van Blarcom, a prominent Minister of New England Yearly Meeting, took up the work as superintendent, but he soon died from fever, owing to the unhealthy conditions which prevailed at the time in eastern Virginia. In 1868 Alfred H. Jones of China, Maine, became superintendent of the educational work of the Philadelphia Association which had now greatly developed and had extended southward, covering large sections of Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, with Danville, Virginia, as the central headquarters. This important southern extension of the work was in large measure due to the devoted labours of Yardley Warner of Philadelphia, who travelled through southern Virginia and North Carolina in 1865, and

[1] See *Friends' Review*, vol. xviii. p. 698.

studied the condition of the coloured people there at the close of the war. This visit led to the appointment of Nereus Mendenhall, the foremost Friend in the South at this time, and a leading educator in his State, as superintendent of the schools for coloured people in North Carolina, with nine teachers under his direction. At the period of climax in the work of the Philadelphia Association, which was reached in 1870, it maintained and managed forty-seven schools, with no less than six thousand coloured people in attendance, under sixty-seven teachers. Those who could earn the money to pay in part for their schooling were charged a small tuition fee; the main supply of funds, however, came in through the liberal contributions of Friends at home and abroad, which, in 1870, had amounted to $253,415.[1] Through the critical years of the "carpet-baggers," *i.e.* northern people who settled temporarily in the South and endeavoured to control political and financial affairs, and the terrors of the "Ku-Klux Klan," a secret society organized to prevent negroes and northerners from obtaining political influence in the South, the teachers of the Friends Association were often in danger, and their position was an extremely delicate one. They were sometimes warned and threatened, but they laboured on unmoved, attended strictly to their duties, and never received any harm.

Friends in New York Yearly Meeting took up the cause of the freedmen almost as early as the Women's Aid Society in Philadelphia did. In October of 1862 a Committee on Coloured Refugees was appointed by the Representative Meeting of New York. This committee sent two of its members to the South to investigate and it began work at once, similar to that which the Philadelphia Association carried on. It devoted its energies to refugees in Washington, Alexandria, and Hampton, where this committee furnished in a short time over eighteen thousand garments to the destitute "contrabands"

[1] Seventh Annual Report of the Association. By 1882 the total of subscriptions had amounted to $349,090, of which amount $87,756 had been given by Friends in Great Britain and Ireland.

huddled together in these cities, of whom there were 5000 in Alexandria alone. The Women's Yearly Meeting issued an important document, urging Friends in all the local meetings to prepare clothing for the destitute negroes. Harriet Jacobs was appointed distributing agent at Alexandria, and as the refugees flocked in after the battles in Shenandoah Valley relieved their sufferings and provided clothes for their almost naked bodies. The New York committee a little later organized farming operations on confiscated lands at Norfolk, Fortress Monroe, and Portsmouth, Virginia, and it managed stores on the same general basis as those already noted. An interesting report of the New York Committee in 1865 says:

> We have engaged William R. Burgess, Joseph Y. Macomber, Clarkston Burgess, William R. Blackburn, jun., and Ira J. Parker to take charge of the stores at Norfolk and Dozier's farm, and a new one recently opened at Portsmouth, all of which have been supplied with suitable goods. A store at Taylor's farm is also organized, and will be opened as soon as suitable accommodations can be obtained.
>
> The Commission at Norfolk is now divided into two departments, one for charity and one for sale. Each of these departments is under the especial charge of an efficient superintendent, who is directly responsible to the Committee, and yet both are blended together when advisable. Able-bodied and industrious coloured people can almost always find employment and are thus enabled to purchase at our stores what they want at fair prices (cost and expenses). Those unable to pay in full, by applying to our superintendent of charity, can obtain a ticket which enables them to purchase at lower rates, and to the weak and infirm needed articles are given outright upon similar application. In each case careful examination into the circumstances of the applicant is made by the superintendent.

Industrial Schools were begun in 1864 under the direction of Sarah F. Smiley of New England, and a large system of elementary schools was built up, centring around Richmond, Virginia, where in 1866 more than twenty thousand coloured people were congregated, and reaching as far south even as Tampa Bay, Florida. The work of this committee was in 1889 transferred to the care of the Board of Home and Foreign Missions. The chair-

man of this Board, Robert M. Ferris, computed at the time of the transfer that the total amount of funds contributed for the freedmen's work of New York Yearly Meeting during the period of refugee relief was $149,251.

Work of a similar type was begun under New England Friends, by definite action of the Yearly Meeting, in 1864. A committee of thirty-six prominent Friends from all sections of the Yearly Meeting was appointed "to relieve those who have been freed from bondage." Three Friends visited Washington in the late autumn of 1864, studying conditions there and also as far south as Norfolk. In accordance with the advice and judgment of this sub-committee of three it was decided that "Washington and vicinity should be the field of operation for New England Friends." Lots of land were bought in Washington; schools and stores were established and small tenement houses were built, to be leased at low prices, so that these people, who had always lived as slaves, might have their own attractive homes. The housing plans of the committee were so well and carefully conducted that other landlords in the neighbourhood were compelled to reduce their rents to a reasonable figure and to make proper repairs on their buildings. This practical work of relief and education was continued in Washington until 1875, when New England Friends took charge of Maryville Normal School in Tennessee and turned their educational work in Washington over to Howard University.[1]

Friends of Baltimore Yearly Meeting united with other citizens of Baltimore to form in 1865 the "Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Coloured People." Friends were prominent both in the organization and in the management of this Association. It devoted its attention to the relief and education of coloured people in the city of Baltimore and in the counties of Maryland. The Association by 1867 had established a normal school and four industrial schools

[1] It has not been possible to gather the figures for the total contributions to freedmen's work in New England. The amount collected from all sources in 1865 amounted according to the minutes to $27,151.

in the city of Baltimore, and over seventy schools in the outlying counties.

Members of Indiana Yearly Meeting were engaged in relieving the pitiable sufferings of the coloured refugees almost as soon as Philadelphia and New York Friends had undertaken their tasks on the eastern seaboard. In December of 1862 Levi Coffin, then living in Cincinnati, where he saw large numbers of slaves who had escaped from owners in the battle areas, went down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to investigate the existing conditions in the districts where the war was then raging and where the suffering was greatest. He was joined by Job Hadley and his wife, two Indiana Friends who had gone forth on the same errand under a sense of divine leading. These Friends saw many harrowing sights and returned with their souls awakened to the great need for immediate action. Under the leadership of Levi Coffin, the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission was organized in January 1863 for the great work of relief. Friends were prominent in this Commission, though it was undenominational. Levi Coffin was selected as general agent of it. Isaac Thorne, John L. Roberts, and Franklin Coggeshall conducted the first load of supplies down the river to the war area. Miami Quarterly Meeting, composed of Friends in western Ohio, at once appointed a committee to raise funds and to promote the work of relief, and other Quarterly Meetings followed this action even before Indiana Yearly Meeting assembled. Meantime Levi Coffin made a second visit to the Mississippi region, where the congestion of refugees had greatly increased, and where he found pitiful conditions calling for a multitude of labourers and for large sums of money for the relief of immediate suffering. His moving story upon his return touched many hearts and aroused Friends to new activity.

In October 1863 a very efficient "Committee for Contraband Relief" was appointed, consisting of the following officers and executive committee: Timothy Nicholson, Secretary; Isaac P. Evans, Treasurer; Joseph Dickinson, General Receiving and Shipping Agent, Richmond;

H. Howard Smith, Receiving and Shipping Agent, Cincinnati. Executive Committee: Joseph Dickinson, Isaac P. Evans, Timothy Nicholson, Benjamin Fulghum, Daniel Hill, Zeri Hough, Luke Thomas, Henry E. Peelle, Achilles Pugh, Abraham Taylor, Murray M. Shipley. The work of cutting and sewing and making necessary garments to clothe the ragged slaves who were crowding all the Union army posts was taken up and organized by the women of the society. Cincinnati was made the shipping centre, and vast quantities of clothes were gathered together and taken down the river to Cairo—the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi—and from there down the Mississippi through an area of grave danger, as there were active guerilla bands of soldiers along the river who fired ruthlessly upon Union boats, and, if possible, captured boat and lading and men. Elkanah Beard and his wife Irena, both highly qualified Friends for the service, were selected to superintend the work among the freedmen of the Mississippi valley. Lizzie Bond, who had already had considerable experience as a worker with coloured people, went as their assistant. They located their headquarters at Young's Point, about ten miles from Vicksburg, the great centre of military operations. Nearly three thousand refugees, the most wretched and degraded of any along the river, were gathered at Young's Point, and here the three Friends began their work, sleeping on the ground, covered only by a miserable tent. They soon changed all the conditions of life and brought order out of chaos. They distributed garments not only for the Indiana Association, but also for the Philadelphia Association and for other relief commissions. They covered a wide area of country and gained the confidence of the Government officials and the enthusiastic love and affection of the "contrabands." According to the usual custom of Friends, they proceeded at once to open schools, and by December 1863 there were three successful schools under way with about three hundred pupils in them.

As the work increased, James and Sarah Smith were sent to take charge of the distribution work at Young's

Point, so that Elkanah Beard could be free to visit the surrounding country, dotted everywhere with refugee camps. General Buford asked him to visit Helena, Arkansas, to see the great group of coloured orphans who had been gathered there. After a consultation over the urgent problem which these orphans presented, General Buford sent Elkanah Beard home to Indiana to urge his Association to send a force of workers to start a school for orphans at Helena. The work in this place had been begun already in a small way in temporary buildings by Lizzie Bond and Lucinda B. Jenkins even before this investigation was made. General Buford, at government expense, now erected buildings for an extensive orphan asylum and school, which was the foundation of the institution that has since developed into Southland College for coloured people.

Meantime the army regulations compelled Elkanah Beard to move the headquarters of the relief work to a new centre about two miles from Vicksburg. The government gave the Association a thousand acres of land, and here a Freedmen's Home was established and an asylum for orphans was opened. Seeds and agricultural implements were supplied by Friends in Philadelphia, and nearly a thousand coloured people, men, women, and children, were cared for and trained to work on this plantation, though they were often greatly disturbed and harassed by guerilla bands of soldiers, and the workers were in constant peril.

As the Union army advanced into new areas the field of service among the refugees widened out and called for new workers. After the battle of Chattanooga, in the winter of 1863–1864, a great work of relief in Tennessee was laid upon the Indiana Association. Ten thousand women and children collected along the railroad between Chattanooga and Gallatin, and there were seven thousand refugees in the city of Nashville. Walter T. Carpenter was sent down to direct the work in this new field. Daniel Hill, Oliver White, and many other prominent young Friends joined in this work of relief, which was immediately followed by the organization of schools.

Yardley Warner of Philadelphia, always full of devotion and energy, went out to Tennessee to study the situation there, and came back to give vivid accounts of the greatness of the needs and the opportunities for service. Keen interest was aroused throughout the east, and many contributions were sent to assist the western work. Friends in Great Britain and Ireland were also very generous in their support of the Tennessee work, as they were of all the American work.

In addition to the schools already mentioned, others were started and maintained at Little Rock, Arkansas, and at Lauderdale, Mississippi, where there was also an orphans' home in a building that had been used for an army hospital, and a normal school was established at Maryville, Tennessee. The Maryville school was primarily due to the faithful labours of Yardley Warner, who visited Tennessee many times and spent long periods there. He secured a large amount of money for this work, and at one time had a group of nine schools beside the normal school in the Maryville region. The Maryville Normal School remained under the care of Indiana Friends until it was transferred to New England Yearly Meeting in 1875.

Meantime the other Yearly Meetings of the middle west were heartily co-operating in the common task. Many of the Quarterly Meetings in Ohio appointed committees to work with the freedmen as soon as the need appeared, and Ohio Yearly Meeting in 1864 appropriated $10,000 to found a coloured school in Jackson, Mississippi. The Freedmen's Committee also worked in co-operation with the Indiana Association, and assisted liberally in all the lines of its effort.

Western Yearly Meeting became active in the work of relief in 1863, and organized committees in the subordinate meetings to make garments and to raise money. About $10,000 was raised the first year of the work. The Freedmen's Committee of Western Yearly Meeting gave much assistance to the Indiana Friends, and through a Joint Board of Control took a direct share in managing

the entire work of relief in the south-west. This Joint Board of Control was organized to unite in a co-operative way the efforts of all Friends west of the Alleghany Mountains. The four existing Yearly Meetings, Ohio, Indiana, Western, and Iowa, combined their forces and merged their interests together. Daniel Hill, with his office at Richmond, Indiana, was Secretary of the Board of Control, and representatives from the four Yearly Meetings composed its membership. It was discontinued after 1867, and the work was then divided up and taken over by the several Yearly Meetings, each one being responsible for its own field. Western Yearly Meeting established on its own account a large system of coloured schools at Columbus, Macon, and other towns in Mississippi under the superintendency of Jonathan and Drusilla Wilson. They had at the high-water mark as many as twenty-one schools under the direction of the committee and supported by its funds.

The story of the work in Iowa Yearly Meeting is a similar one. This Yearly Meeting was established in 1863, and it appointed a Freedmen's Committee and raised $513 for refugee work at its first session. The committee, consisting of nine Friends, issued an appeal to all the members of the Yearly Meeting for subscriptions to the work of relief "of that much injured people," and during the first year the committee raised $3181 and secured a large amount of suitable clothing. At the annual gathering in 1864 there was profound interest manifested in this work of mercy, the hearts of all Friends being "dipped in sympathy with the distressed condition of our coloured brethren of the South now being freed from bondage." A large committee was at this time appointed, called "The Executive Committee on the Relief of the Freedmen." In 1865 the Iowa work was merged temporarily with the other Yearly Meetings under the Board of Control for joint work. After the Board of Control ceased to operate, the Iowa committee took over the care of freedmen in Missouri and in some sections of Kansas. Isaac T. Gibson was made general field agent of the committee, and devoted all his

time to superintending the work. David Morgan was a prominent worker in the Missouri field. An important system of schools was built up and a noble constructive work was accomplished. At a later period (1880) the Yearly Meeting established "Hobson Normal School" at Parsons, Kansas.

From the very beginning of the work for freedmen, English and Irish Friends were generous contributors to all the efforts of American Friends. The memory of the way in which Friends in the United States had joined with England for the relief of suffering during the Irish famine was fresh in all minds, and the members of London and Dublin Yearly Meetings responded with enthusiasm in 1863 to the first call for co-operative help. In 1864 the Freedmen's Aid Commission of Cincinnati sent Levi Coffin abroad to present the condition of coloured freedmen, and to solicit from Friends and others assistance for their relief. He had a cordial reception everywhere he went, and his addresses aroused great interest and secured large sums toward the work of relief. Prominent Friends adopted and championed his cause, and public men of great influence, like Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, William Edward Forster, John Bright, Samuel Gurney, and Newman Hall, ably supported him. One result of the visit was the organization of the London Freedmen's Aid Society, which became a great source of moral and financial strength to the freedmen's cause in America. It was not a distinctly Quaker organization, but it contained many Friends in its membership and among its officers. Levi Coffin's visit aroused also increased interest abroad in all the work which the American Yearly Meetings were carrying on, and it resulted in bringing larger contributions to the several Associations and Committees which had the work in hand.[1]

A most important action was taken in March 1865 when a "Central Committee of the Society of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland for the Relief of the Emanci-

[1] An interesting account of Levi Coffin's visit—in fact two visits—to Europe is given in his *Reminiscences*, pp. 651-712.

pated Slaves in North America" was formed. This committee co-operated in many lines with the London Freedmen's Aid Society, and it nobly supported all the committees of Friends in America. A similar provincial committee, called the Birmingham and Midlands Committee, was also formed a little later, and other local associations were successfully organized. In April 1866, a great meeting was held in London to consolidate all the freedmen's associations, of which there were forty or fifty in existence, into the National Freedmen's Aid Union of Great Britain and Ireland, in which Friends were an influential factor. At that meeting it was reported that £86,000 had been already raised for freedmen's relief.[1]

The greatest period of Friends' work for freedmen was the decade from 1865 to 1875, though in most fields it was continued in larger or smaller volume for a much longer period. Gradually after the war the slave-holding States which had seceded worked out their difficult reconstruction problems and formed their new social, political, and economic systems. The southern people saw and recognized the immense work which Friends had done to prepare the coloured population for useful lives, and for taking their part in the new civilization which was growing up before their eyes. They came also to appreciate the fact that the very life of the South depended on education, including the education of those who had been slaves. Little by little the States, or in some cases the local school boards, began taking over the schools which Friends had started and had maintained. As fast as local communities, working generally under state systems of education, were able to support and manage the coloured schools, Friends withdrew and left the work, as it properly belonged, with the people where the freedmen were henceforth to live and labour. As this process went on, it became evident that certain special institutions of a more definite and constructive type should still be maintained and

[1] See article in *Friends' Review*, vol. xix. p. 601. This Aid Union published a periodical called *The Freedmen's Aid Reporter*.

directed by Friends. General Armstrong was demonstrating at Hampton Institute, Virginia, and, after 1881, Booker T. Washington began to show at Tuskegee, Alabama, what could be done intensively to train the coloured people for industries and as teachers of their own race. Friends, under these conditions and circumstances, concentrated their efforts upon selected institutions. Indiana Friends took the school at Helena, Arkansas, which General Buford in the critical days of the war had helped them build, and they gradually developed it into an efficient normal school under the name of Southland College. New England Friends adopted the Maryville, Tennessee, school and carried on there for many years a successful normal school. New York Friends selected the Industrial School at High Point, North Carolina, as the centre of their work. It has steadily grown and expanded, and is an efficient factor in the educational and vocational training of the coloured people of North Carolina. Immediately after the war closed Captain Charles S. Schaeffer, a devoted Christian man, started a school at Christiansburg, Virginia. The Philadelphia Association began in 1869 to assist Captain Schaeffer in his work. From 1873 onward it gave an annual appropriation to his school. In 1884–1886 the Association raised several thousand dollars to help build and equip a modern school building at Christiansburg, and gradually the main interest of the Philadelphia Association centred upon this institution. In 1899 it purchased a ninety-acre farm, which was doubled by a later purchase, and from this time on Friends began to create at this point a great agricultural and industrial training school. Friends had in 1915 raised and expended for this institution a total sum of $640,483 of which amount $442,896 was contributed by Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, and $87,756 by Friends in England and Ireland.[1]

The Friends of the Hicksite branch were equally zealous in their efforts of relief and rehabilitation. Their

[1] New England Friends, having given up their work at Maryville, now assist with their funds the schools at Christiansburg and High Point.

two most striking permanent achievements were the founding (1) of a Normal and Industrial School at Aiken, South Carolina, which has been named in honour of the devoted woman, Martha Schofield, who took the lead in the establishment of it, and (2) of a School at Mount Pleasant, South Carolina, under the leadership of another noble woman, Abby D. Monroe.

Besides this work in the South, which the great emergency of war laid upon the hearts of Friends everywhere, a number of institutions for the care and relief, or for the education, of coloured people have grown up in Philadelphia and New York City, and are managed by Friends. In Philadelphia, Friends maintain the following institutions: "The Raspberry Street School for Black People and their Descendants," founded in 1770 by Anthony Benezet and carried on under the care of a committee of the Orthodox Monthly Meetings in the city of Philadelphia; "The Institute for Colored Youth," founded in 1837 and now a flourishing industrial school for both sexes, located at Cheyney, Pennsylvania; "The Shelter," an institution for the care and training of coloured orphan girls, founded in 1822, now located at Cheyney where it works in co-operation with "The Institute for Colored Youth"; "The Western District Colored School," founded in 1848, supported by a legacy from Hannah W. Richardson, and gifts of Rebecca White; "The Adelphi School for the Instruction of Poor Children," founded in 1807, which maintains a school for fifty little coloured children; "The Bethany Mission for Colored People," founded in 1856, to give moral and religious education to coloured people; and "The Joseph Sturge Mission School," founded in 1865, to teach the principles of Christianity to the coloured people of the neighbourhood. In 1919 "the Raspberry Street School," "the Western District Colored School" and "the Joseph Sturge School" were consolidated.

One of the most interesting of all Friends' efforts to help the coloured people in the cities of the North is that which has found expression in the New York Coloured

Mission. The undertaking sprang from a religious concern in the souls of two women Friends in New York City in 1865. They found a district bounded by Sixth and Eighth Avenues, and by Twenty-fifth and Thirty-fourth Streets, crowded with a coloured population, many of whom were destitute, ignorant, and without moral or religious training. These two Friends began to hold a Sunday school at 152 West Twenty-eighth Street in the winter of 1865 in a room over a blacksmith's shop. The beginning was a feeble one but full of promise. In the spring of 1866 an attempt was made to start a building fund for a prospective mission-building. $3107 was secured and invested. Meantime the school was growing, and its influences were branching in many directions. With a holy boldness, the little band of workers decided in 1871 to buy a lot of land and to erect a building, though the building fund at that time amounted to only $3400. They located their headquarters on West Thirtieth Street, and here they built a five-storey building for their mission work. A great variety of work centred in this new building, and the whole wide district surrounding the mission was affected by the labours of the faithful group of Quaker men and women who with rare devotion, under the superintendency of Augustus Taber, maintained and supported it. In 1917 the Mission changed its location from the heart of New York City to a new site in Harlem, at One Hundred and Thirtieth and One Hundred and Thirty-first Streets. The entire work of the Mission has expanded with the growing needs of the coloured population and with improved methods of social service, and it is one of the great contributing sources of light and help to many of the coloured people of New York City. The Coloured Orphan Asylum in New York City was established in 1836 through the efforts of a few indefatigable women. In 1863 it was burned down by a mob, but it was rebuilt and has had a great record of service.

In 1879 and 1880 occurred a strange movement which once more called Friends to renewed efforts for the coloured race — the negro exodus into Kansas. The

achievement of abolition and the attainment of franchise for the freedmen failed to work the miracle which many abolitionists appeared to expect. Frictions and maladjustments between the freed slaves and their former masters were only natural. Unsettlement and economic difficulties were sure to occur. The admission of vast multitudes of uneducated freedmen to the full privilege of the ballot could not fail to raise political complications and some disillusionment. The coloured people themselves, with their load of poverty and suffering, began to dream of fairer hopes in some far-away land of promise. For some reason Kansas became glorified in their minds, and stood out in their imagination as the land of the negroes' hope. At a coloured convention, held in Nashville, Tennessee, in May 1879, attended by delegates from fourteen States, a resolution was adopted advising coloured people of the South to "emigrate to those states and territories where they can enjoy all the rights which are guaranteed by the laws and constitution of the United States."[1] With this advice to support their efforts, enthusiastic leaders harangued the coloured people, fanned their hopes to flame, and called upon them to rise up and go forth in a new exodus to Kansas, where they could be both free and happy. In vast numbers they obeyed the call, and the fugitives arrived in Kansas in the autumn of 1879, destitute, in rags, without shoes, and with no provision for either shelter or food.

Elizabeth L. Comstock felt a direct call to go to Kansas and to put forth all possible efforts to meet this great emergency. Governor St. John of Kansas, with splendid spirit and wisdom, organized the work of relief, and under him Elizabeth Comstock took up her task. Through the *Friends' Review* she informed American Friends everywhere of the desperate need of money and clothes, and she arranged for collectors, packers, and shippers at important centres. The Freedmen's Associations and Committees took up the work in the old-time zeal of the sixties, and in a short period relief supplies

[1] L. W. Springs, *Kansas* (Boston, 1885), p. 307.

were reaching Elizabeth Comstock and her helpers almost as fast as they could be distributed. Laura S. Haviland and John M. Watson also took a noteworthy part in the work of relief. At the request of Governor St. John, Elizabeth Comstock went to Chicago, and in a great meeting, held in Farwell Hall, endeavoured to induce the citizens of Illinois to provide for a part of the refugees. She was successful, receiving a promise that Illinois would take *fifty thousand* coloured people and assist them in finding homes and employment.[1] Later she went on a similar mission to Nebraska and opened the way for many immigrants to go there. Her noble work of spiritual comfort, of temporal relief and extensive provision for permanent settlement of the refugees, give her efforts at this period high rank in the long story of Friends' contribution to the coloured race.

This account of Friends' work for the freedmen is no doubt somewhat out of perspective. It has been told here, almost as though Friends were working at the task in isolation and were somewhat by themselves in the great work of relief and of education. To give this impression would be to miss the truth and to do serious injustice to the many devoted labourers in this field. There were, from the earliest period of emancipation, many efficient organizations and associations engaged in this reconstructive work for the coloured race. Friends often formed a part of these organizations, but there were many more in which there were no Friends; and there were, too, high-minded and generous individuals who did great things to promote the education of the emancipated negro. The Federal Government and the several States have also done their share. There is no desire on the part of the writer of this chapter to set Friends' share in the common work into undue prominence. This service to the freedmen is, however, a real and genuine part of Quaker history, and it is, and will remain a vital part of the history of the coloured race in America, and as such it deserves to be told. Few names have been given

[1] *Life and Letters of Elizabeth L. Comstock*, p. 377.

here, and that is as it should be, for the contribution to the cause was made by the whole Society of Friends, and is a corporate and not an individual affair.

III

Friends' Work for Indians

From the very beginning of the Society, Friends have shown a peculiar interest in lowly and less favoured peoples. As soon as the first "publishers of Truth" landed in America they began to express their love for the Indians and their faith that the same divine Light which was revealed in their own souls shone also in the heart of the Indian. The faith and love of Friends were at once reciprocated by the Indians. The story of the happy relations between Friends and American Indians in colonial days has been told in *The Quakers in the American Colonies*. A very brief account will be given here of Friends' later work among these long-suffering tribes who originally owned this continent and hunted and fished unhindered and unafraid in the forests and lakes.

One of the most convincing tokens of Indian confidence in Friends is found in the fact that Indians of almost all types and tribes, not only in colonial times but through the nineteenth century as well, desired to have a committee of Friends present with them whenever they were making a treaty with their white neighbours. In 1793 two Indian messengers came all the way from the North-West Territory to Philadelphia to request that some Friends should attend a council at Sandusky (now in the State of Ohio) where an important treaty was likely to be made. The Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia sent a delegation to the council and wrote a beautiful address which was to be read to them. William Savery was one of the committee to undertake this mission which was full of hardships, dangers and sufferings, but of more than usual interest, and which he has recounted in considerable

detail in his *Journal*.[1] The following year another committee of the Meeting for Sufferings went out to assist the Six Nations in Treaty conferences with the representatives of the government at Canandaigua, New York. William Savery was a prominent figure again and a spiritual leader in this group of Friendly counsellors. His interesting narrative of this hazardous journey is given in his *Journal*.[2] These famous visits made a deep impression on the minds of the Friends, who saw face to face the real condition of the Indians who were being pushed ever farther west and whose domains were eagerly coveted by the expanding nation. The visitors brought back to the Meeting for Sufferings their deep conviction that some more essential service should be rendered to "these poor declining People" than had yet been given them. As a result of this appeal Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of 1795 appointed a committee of forty-three persons to take the subject of the Indians into definite consideration, and out of this preliminary consideration came the appointment of a standing committee of twenty-nine on Indian affairs. Thomas Wistar, a true friend of the Indians, was clerk of this committee. This step taken by Philadelphia in 1795 proved to be a momentous one—in fact the inauguration of a new epoch in the relation between American Friends and the Indians.[3]

This standing committee, appointed in 1795, called at once for "sober, well-qualified Friends" who "felt drawn" to go and live among the Indians to instruct them "in husbandry and useful trades," to make their children "acquainted with the Scriptures of truth," so that they might "improve in the principles of Christianity and become qualified to manage their temporal concerns."[4] This call of the committee for volunteers led to the

[1] *Journal of William Savery*, pp. 28-87.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 88-154.

[3] The entire work of American Friends for the Indians has been admirably told by Dr. Rayner W. Kelsey in his *Friends and the Indians* (Philadelphia, 1917). This work has been so carefully and accurately done that I shall refer the reader who wishes details to this standard account, and give here only a brief statement of the work in its larger historical aspect.

[4] Kelsey, *op. cit.* p. 93. See also *Friends' Review*, vol. ii. p. 369.

beginning of a definite experiment in 1796. This was an attempt to teach husbandry, trades, agriculture, weaving and some general education to the Indians on the Oneida reservation in New York State. In 1804 the educational and civilizing work of Philadelphia Friends was transferred to Tunesassa, on the Alleghany River in western Pennsylvania. This proved to be a beginning full of promise for the future. A tract of seven hundred acres was purchased, trained workers were enlisted, Friends with deep religious concern visited the field, and in some instances remained for long periods and contributed to the development of the undertaking. Tunesassa gradually became, with its schools for Indian boys and girls and its practical training for trades, agriculture, and home-making, one of the best experiments in Indian education which Friends have made. This experiment in Indian education has continued until the present time with ever-increasing effectiveness.

The awakening in Philadelphia in 1793–1795 to the needs of the Indians aroused a similar concern in the other American Yearly Meetings. The annual Epistle of early days was often a seed distributor. It proved so in this case. New England, New York, and Baltimore Yearly Meetings became awake almost simultaneously to their moral and spiritual duties toward the Indians within their reach. In this work, as in all other Quaker concerns and undertakings, a few leaders stand out in the clear light as the guiding spirits and the patient toilers, the other members followed often afar off or took a mild secondary interest in what the star-members were doing. For many years Stephen Jones of China, Maine, and John D. Lang of Vassalboro in the same State carried the burden of the Indian work of New England Yearly Meeting, which was mainly directed to the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy Indians in the State of Maine. These two Friends and their co-labourers faithfully endeavoured to carry out in practice among these child-minded and sorely tempted red men of northern Maine the essential truths of the Quaker principle of divine Light and leading.

John Dean and Adin T. Cory are two names which stand out among the Friends of New York Yearly Meeting. They gave consecrated service respectively among the Brotherton and the Onondaga Indians. Baltimore Yearly Meeting appointed its first standing committee on Indians in 1795. It did much to bring about a restriction of the sale of spirituous liquors to Indians to the north-west of the Ohio River, it sent committees to assist the Indians in that region, which was within the limits of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, and finally it took steps to start an educational and industrial experiment, like that inaugurated by Philadelphia Friends. This experiment for the training of the Indians in Ohio and Indiana had many interruptions and vicissitudes. The most important undertaking was that carried on successfully for many years at Wapakoneta, near the present city of Lewiston, Ohio. Begun at first by Baltimore, it was in succession adopted and taken up by Ohio and Indiana Yearly Meetings as they came into existence, while the work was brought to an end in 1832 by the removal of the Shawnee Indians to a new reservation in Kansas. Weeping sorely as they left their homes these migrating Indians came to say farewell to the Friends who had been their helpers. "We have been brothers," their chiefs said, "together with you for a long time. You took us by the hand and you held us fast. We have held you fast too. And although we are going far away from you, we do not want you to forsake us. . . . Through all we have found that by holding to the Friends we have done best, so we hope always to be in your hands." [1]

Friends did not forget these affectionate Shawnees. Henry Harvey, who had been in charge of the work at Wapakoneta, accompanied by Simon Hadley and Solomon Haddon—all of Indiana Yearly Meeting—went out in 1833 to visit the transplanted Indians who were located on the west bank of the Missouri, not far from the site of what is now Kansas City. The visitors received a joyous welcome from the "red brothers," as

[1] Quoted from Kelsey, p. 142.

they were called by Friends, and as a result of this visit practical work was soon begun for the Shawnees in their western home. The mission work was opened in 1837 under the joint care of Baltimore, Ohio, and Indiana Yearly Meetings. It united, as Friends' work for the Indians has generally done, educational teaching, practical training in agriculture, smith-work, mill-work, home-making and religious instruction. This important mission accomplished an immense service for the western Indians of many tribes. It had many fluctuations and many difficulties to face, especially during the conflicts over the destiny of Kansas, and the mission finally came to an end in 1869.[1]

The Friends of the Hicksite branch were as deeply concerned, as were the members of the other Yearly Meetings, to do all in their power to improve the condition of the Indians. The New York Friends (Hicksite), through their Yearly Meeting's Indian Committee, opened a school at Cattaraugus, New York, among the Senecas in 1833. The other eastern Yearly Meetings of this branch—Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Genesee (for the district of Western New York and Canada)—united with New York Yearly Meeting in this work, and they co-operated in assisting the Senecas to protect themselves from the frauds of the land companies and to make treaties with the United States Government. The Friends who represented these Yearly Meetings were for many years good brothers in a multitude of ways to the Indians. They spared no pains nor efforts. They made many long journeys in behalf of the cause. They dealt skilfully with the crafty schemes of the land-agents. They were unceasing in their efforts with Washington officials to secure justice. They were patient with the fickle, child-minded Indians themselves. Meantime they were contributing slowly but effectively to the education,

[1] This work for the Indians in Kansas will be considered further in the chapter on "The Migration of Friends to Iowa and Kansas." There is a valuable account of Friends' work among the Indians of Kansas in Dr. Wilson Hobbs' personal reminiscences published in *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. viii. pp. 250-271.

civilization, and working efficiency of the members of this interesting tribe. Philip E. Thomas, of Baltimore, was one of the most noted members of the joint committee, and the Indians themselves called him "The Benevolent." The educational work of Friends among the Senecas came to a close in 1849, though for many years longer Friends continued to give their practical help.

Thomas Wistar, the son of the clerk of the first Indian Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, was a devoted friend of the Indians and a life-long champion of their interests. In 1849 he wrote a memorable letter to President Fillmore, laying before him the great injustice that had been done to the Monomonee Indians in their removal from their old homes to new western reservations. He, in company with Alfred Cope, nine chiefs of this Indian tribe, and a Roman Catholic priest, took the letter in person to the President. The year before this commission to the President was undertaken Thomas Wistar had been appointed by the Government to distribute $40,000 among these Monomonees in conformity with the treaty made with them in the autumn of 1848.[1]

The most important single event connected with the Indian work of Friends was the decision of President U. S. Grant to put the administration of Indian affairs very largely in the hands of Friends. The new policy was announced in letters sent officially in 1869 to representatives of the different bodies of Friends, as follows:

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,
WASHINGTON, D.C., *February* 15, 1869.

SIR—General Grant, the President-elect, desirous of inaugurating some policy to protect the Indians in their just rights and enforce integrity in the administration of their affairs, as well as to improve their general condition, and appreciating fully the friendship and interest which your Society has ever maintained in their behalf, directs me to request that you will send him a

[1] *Friends' Review*, vol. iii. pp. 824, 825.

list of names, members of your Society, whom your Society will endorse as suitable persons for Indian Agents.

Also, to assure you that any attempt which may or can be made by your Society for the improvement, education, and Christianization of the Indians under such agencies will receive from him, as President, all the encouragement and protection which the laws of the United States will warrant him in giving.—Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

E. S. PARKER,
Brev. Brig.-Gen., U.S.A. and A.D.C.

This policy was not a sudden fulmination on the part of President Grant, who at the time the letter was written had been elected but not yet inaugurated President. It was due to the slowly developed conviction in his mind that the military policy of force had failed with the Indians, that land-greed had subjected them to injustice, and that their case should now be put in the hands of their tried and tested friends, the Quakers. The conviction was further brought to maturity by the ever-increasing interest and activity of Friends as the troubles and sufferings of the Indians had grown more acute, immediately after the close of the Civil War. The Hicksite Friends, through representatives from their six Yearly Meetings, held a conference on Indian affairs in Baltimore, in 1867, which addressed a memorial to the government on behalf of the Indians, in which communication these Friends offered to enter without compensation upon any service for the Indians that appeared feasible. Almost simultaneously at the call of the Meeting for Sufferings of Iowa, the Orthodox Yearly Meetings of the middle west, Iowa, Indiana, Western, and Ohio, appointed a joint committee on Indian affairs, invited the co-operation of New England, New York, and Baltimore, and took steps for holding a conference which met in Baltimore, January 1869. This conference also, as the Hicksite one had done, laid its concern for the Indians before the government officials at Washington. Friends entrusted with the concern also secured an interview with U. S. Grant, then President-elect, and urged him to adopt

a pacific and Christian policy of dealing with the wards of the nation. One of the Friends who visited General Grant reports that, in his well-known direct fashion, he said to the delegation: "Gentlemen, your advice is good. I accept it. Now give me the names of some Friends for Indian Agents and I will appoint them. If you can make Quakers out of the Indians it will take the fight out of them. Let us have peace."[1] Less than a month after this visit the letter which we have quoted above, inaugurating the new policy, was written.[2]

Under the policy which the President proceeded to put into active operation almost immediately after his inauguration, 4th March 1869, Orthodox Friends took the superintendency of the Indian tribes in Kansas and some of the tribes of Indian Territory, called the "Central Superintendency," while the Hicksite Friends took the superintendency of the tribes in Nebraska, called the "Northern Superintendency." The members of these two branches were asked to nominate Friends to serve as Superintendents of the districts and also to name Friends to be appointed Indian Agents under the Superintendents. Enoch Hoag, of Iowa Yearly Meeting, a man of large experience in Indian affairs, and a wise Indian counsellor, was appointed by President Grant as superintendent over the Indians in the Central Superintendency, covering the vast area of what was then Kansas and the Indian Territory. Under him were many Quaker Indian Agents having care of the Kickapoos, Shawnees, Potawatomies, Kaws, Osages, Quapaws, Sacs and Foxes, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Wichitas, Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches.[3] Samuel M. Janney, a distinguished Friend from Virginia, was appointed superintendent in the Northern Superintendency.

[1] Lawrie Tatum's *Red Brothers*, pp. 17, 18.

[2] These preliminary steps are dealt with more fully in Dr. Kelsey's *Friends and the Indians*, pp. 162-167.

[3] Dr. Kelsey (p. 172 n.) gives the following list of agents: John D. Miles, Reuben L. Roberts, Mahlon Stubbs, James Stanley, Brinton Darlington, Lawrie Tatum, Joel H. Morris, John Hadley, Hiram W. Jones, Isaac T. Gibson, Jonathan Richards, Thomas Miller, B. W. Miles, John H. Pickering, J. M. Haworth, M. H. Newlin, Cyrus Beede, Levi Woodard, A. C. Williams, Laban J. Miles, and Jacob V. Carter.

President Grant, in his first annual Message to Congress, presented 6th December 1869, referred to his new Indian policy in the following words:

> The Society of Friends is well known as having succeeded in living in peace with the Indians in the early settlement of Pennsylvania, while their white neighbours of other sects in other sections were constantly embroiled. *They are also known for their opposition to all strife, violence, and war*, and are generally known for their strict integrity and fair dealings. These considerations induced me to give the management of a few reservations to them and to throw the burden of the selection of agents upon the Society itself. The result has proven most satisfactory.[1]

This was perhaps the most striking official endorsement of the Quaker policy of peaceful and loving methods that had up to that time ever been given to the Society of Friends. It made the words even more significant that they were written by a military leader in one of the greatest wars of the nineteenth century.

The President further strengthened his policy by appointing a national Board of Indian Commissioners, composed of men "eminent for their intelligence and philanthropy," who were to serve without compensation. A number of Friends have been appointed not only by President Grant but by later Presidents on this efficient commission. For ten important years, from 1869 to 1879, Friends endeavoured to fulfil, with wisdom and diligence, the duties and obligations laid upon them by the President's trust and confidence in them.

One of the most significant results of President Grant's policy was the creation of the "Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs," which was organized at Damascus, Ohio, in the summer of 1869, as a result of Yearly Meeting conferences. This committee, in its final form, was composed of representatives from the Orthodox Yearly Meetings of New England, New York, Baltimore, North Carolina, Ohio, Indiana, Western, Iowa, and "Philadelphia Indian Aid Associa-

[1] Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, vol. vii. pp. 38, 39.

tion," as Philadelphia Yearly Meeting did not at this time affiliate with these bodies.

The Associated Executive Committee appointed Dr. William Nicholson of North Carolina as its first General Agent, to live in the field, to oversee the entire work, and to be its representative and source of accurate information. In 1876 he was appointed Superintendent to succeed Enoch Hoag. This Executive Committee has expanded in membership, as new Yearly Meetings have since been established, and it has performed an immense service to the Indians during the half-century period of its existence. It has laboured not only to protect the Indians from the white man's greed and to develop the practical skill and efficiency of the Indian youth among the western tribes, but it has as well accomplished very much in its endeavours to supply these Indians with a body of friendly, brotherly helpers interested in all that concerns their outer and inner life. It has carried on extensive missionary work among the Indians of Kansas, Indian Territory, and Oklahoma. It has maintained schools among them. It has guided their agricultural work, and in a multitude of ways it has taken the part of a strong friend and adviser.

The work of the devoted missionaries who have served under the care of this Executive Committee is one of the luminous contributions of American Friends to the tragic and long-suffering native children of our western hemisphere. Friends have had no monopoly at any time of the brotherly spiritual service bestowed upon the Indians of this country. Under President Grant's administration other Christian communions and denominations besides Friends were also called upon to help the government solve the complicated Indian problem. Other Christian schools have been founded; other industrial experiments have been made; and other devoted missionaries have carried love and wisdom into the lives of the red men. But it is doubtful whether any other denomination to the same extent has borne the Indians on its heart as a very part of its life; has won to the same degree their

faith and confidence, or has so completely identified itself in practical love with these interesting survivors of an ancient race.

I shall close this brief account of the work of American Friends for the Indians, with a passage from Enoch Hoag's speech to the Osage tribe in 1869. This tribe had given much trouble and, if handled without tact, was likely to give more. Before almost the entire "nation" of red men the new Superintendent spoke as follows:

> My brothers! I am happy to meet you. I have long desired this opportunity to talk with you, but my duty to other tribes has prevented my being with you till this day. I call you brothers because we all have one common Father. The Great Creator of all made the white man, the red man, and the black man equal. He gave to the white man no more natural rights than He gave to the red man; and I claim from you no rights and privileges but such as I extend to you, and you should claim from me no more than you extend to me.[1]

It is easy to understand why the Quaker policy and method under such leaders as Enoch Hoag worked with the Indians.

[1] Quoted from Jones' *Quakers of Iowa*, p. 210.

CHAPTER XVI

JOHN BRIGHT AND JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER

I

John Bright

We have been studying in these chapters a religious movement as it was expressed and wrought out in the lives and through the ministry of men and women who were for the most part devoid of genius and who were intellectually at least of quite average calibre. The main feature of this history is the slowly unfolding spiritual life of a corporate group. Few persons stand out with clear and luminous personalities rising above the level of the group and revealing that unique and mysterious thing which we call genius. From first to last we have been interested in seeing the power of group-ideas and group-sentiment and the unconscious control of the Society itself over its individual leaders. Even Elias Hicks and Joseph John Gurney—the two most impressive leaders of the early nineteenth century—were only typical exponents of powerful group-tendencies within the Society of their day.

In John Bright and John G. Whittier the ordinary group-level of life was transcended and Quakerism received an interpretation and a translation into life through persons who were undoubtedly men of genius. Their lives covered almost exactly the same period; they both came from the same social level; they had a somewhat similar education; and they were strikingly alike in their

tastes, their convictions, their fundamental ideas, and their religious feelings.[1] They are the two most distinguished Quakers since the days of George Fox and William Penn, and we must turn to them for a notable public interpretation of the spirit and ideals of Quakerism in the nineteenth century. In these two men, as through no other persons, Quakerism found a potent voice and attracted the attention of the world at large.

John Bright was born of ancient Quaker stock at Greenbank, near Rochdale, England, in 1811. "My ancestry," he once said in a speech, "were people who followed an honourable industry — such as I myself should have preferred always to follow. My sympathies are naturally with the class with which I am connected, and I would infinitely prefer to raise the class of which I am one, than by any means whatever to creep above it or out of it." His school education was distinctly limited, though he succeeded in supplementing it by extensive reading, by travel, and by large human intercourse. When he was nine, he went to the Townhead School in Rochdale, walking back and forth, a distance of half a mile from his home. A little later he went as a boarder to Penketh School, of which he has given an interesting account in an unfinished manuscript Journal which in later life he wrote:

> Behind the house was a good garden and orchard, and a vinery where grapes were abundant, and beyond the garden were cornfields, through which we walked daily to the school. We had scripture reading in the family, and I remember how I found a place for some of the New Testament narratives. The vineyard mentioned in the 13th chapter of Luke I pictured as just like our vineyard; and I fancied I could see the discontented brother of the Prodigal Son returning from the field down the short lane which led from the house to the neighbouring cornfield. These imaginings of my boyhood have remained with me ever since. Our schoolmaster was not well qualified for his office. His temper was not good, and the school was much less pleasant than our home with the kind and generous farmer.

[1] Whittier once said of Bright: "We had much in common—in our religious faith, our hatred of war and oppression."

He also had a short period of school life at Ackworth, though the Ackworth of his day was hardly the type of school for the delicate boy he then was. His memory of it was not happy and it left no permanent mark upon him. He wrote of it later:

> In those days, now nearly sixty years ago, schools were very different from what they are now. Even this great school, maintained by a religious society, in many things in advance of public opinion in gentleness and kindness and justice, was in many respects grievously mismanaged. In the matter of food, it was insufficient in quantity and quality. In the matter of punishments, it was harsh if not barbarous, and the comfort and health of the children were very inadequately attended to.

Next he had two years in the York School, which has since become Bootham School, and this period of his education was always considered by him the most important of his school days. The religious impression which York Friends' meeting made upon the boy was never effaced. Finally he spent a year and a half at the Hodder School at Newton-in-Bowland, where he found his health and learned to fish! "I did not," he once said in a public address, "get much of what was called education. What I got was something, I had almost said, far better, for I got, I believe, whatever store of good health I have had from that time to this."

At the age of fifteen years and three months his school education came to an end and he entered the business of his father, Jacob Bright—the business of spinning cotton—and he became henceforth an inseparable part of the industrial life of Rochdale. One important feature of his early education deserves further consideration, since it was precisely that feature which in large measure determined his career—I mean the formation of his moral and religious ideals. His own home and the Friends' meeting at Rochdale, and the meetings in the neighbourhood of the schools he attended, did more to form his inner life than did any other influences. The spiritual climate of the Bright home was admirably suited for the cultivation of a quiet, irresistible moral leader. Rugged honesty, strong

simplicity, brave sincerity, noble reverence were in the unconscious air the boy breathed day by day as he grew up. The unadorned but impressive stories of the Old Testament, at morning reading, kindled the boy's early imagination and the Bible became one of the greatest constructive forces of his life. The stories, too, of early Quaker heroism and the readiness of his own people to stand hardness and to endure for conscience' sake helped to form his own fibre. He himself has told us of this influence.

"I knew," he wrote, "something of the history of Friends and of the persecutions they had endured, and of their principles of equality and justice. I knew that I came of the stock of the martyrs, that one of my ancestors, John Gratton of Monyash in Derbyshire, had been in prison for several years because he preferred to worship in the humble meeting-house of his own sect rather than in the church of the law-favoured sect by whom he and his friends were barbarously persecuted." [1]

The meeting was, as I have said, another impalpable but powerful influence upon his inner life and character. The practice of quiet meditation, the pervading spirit of complete democracy, the corporate aspiration for a higher life, the emphasis upon the unparalleled augustness of conscience, the Quaker insistence that every soul was open inwardly to God and shaped its destiny by obedience or disobedience—all these things worked powerfully upon the sober, sensitive boy. He never knew a time in his life when the awe-compelling realities of the universe were not his own soul and God. Trevelyan has well described what the meeting meant to young Bright:

Every First Day the family trooped down from Greenbank, and sat, an ever-lengthening row of sober little people, on the bare wooden benches opposite the platform, which modest elevation, the nearest likeness permitted among the Friends to chancel or pulpit, was reserved for the "Elders" chosen from the leading members of the congregation. Here the boy joined in the priestless worship, where piety neither was decked in robes and symbols, nor grew clamorous in its Protestantism, but where silence spoke in the heart. Here he grew accustomed to men

[1] For a good account of John Gratton see *Second Period*, pp. 370-375.

and women uttering their thoughts under the stress of real emotion, but without gesticulation, without shouting, and without violence of language.[1]

However high he might rise in popular favour, however great his fame might become, however influential he might find himself in the estimation of the nation or of the world, he would never travel away from the landmarks of faith which he discovered in his youth nor lose the elemental principles which were here built into the very foundation of his inner life. He carried up with him, as he rose step after step, the plain good sense, the straightforward honesty, the broad sympathy with human life, the unfailing confidence in democracy, the passion for truth and righteousness and the simple faith in God which he had learned at home and in the Quaker meeting. Mr. Gladstone in his eulogy of John Bright, given in the House of Commons, 29th March 1889, expressed what multitudes of citizens felt about this unswerving and absolutely fearless moral statesman:

> We feel that Mr. Bright is entitled to a higher eulogy than any that could be due to intellect or any that could be due to success. Of mere success he was indeed a conspicuous example; in intellect he may lay claim to a most distinguished place; but the character of the man lay deeper than his intellect, deeper than his eloquence, deeper than anything that can be described or seen on the surface, and the supreme eulogy which is his due I apprehend to be this, that he elevated political life to a higher elevation, and to a loftier standard, and that he has thereby bequeathed to his country the character of a statesman which can be made the subject not only of admiration, and not only of gratitude, but of reverential contemplation.[2]

One other formative influence must be noted—the influence of John Milton and the English Bible on the style of his oratory. God gave him native melody and majesty of voice but even with that great gift he would never have become the rare, unique orator he was if he had not carefully formed his style on the most perfect

[1] G. M. Trevelyan's *Life of John Bright* (London, 1913), p. 9.

[2] At the time of John Bright's death Whittier wrote of him: "His eloquence was only called out by what he regarded as the voice of God in his soul."

models of the English language. He loved Milton with a passion that never passed away with age, and he read and re-read the Bible, often aloud, thrilled not only with the sublime truths but also with the lofty and eloquent diction. As a young man I spent one great day with John Bright at One Ash, Rochdale, and I remember, more clearly than anything else from that visit, his own estimate of the grandeur of Milton and of the English Bible and his personal opinion that these two influences had been predominant in the formation of his style in speech.

One of Milton's weighty prose sentences became an accepted motto and standard of Bright's public life. It was this: "True eloquence I find to be none but the serious and hearty love of truth." Referring to this lofty word of Milton's, he said in 1868, "I am not conscious that I have ever used an argument which I did not believe to be sound, or have stated anything as a fact which I did not believe to be true." It was their knowledge of this moral fact and their faith in his fundamental *honesty* which made the common people trust Bright somewhat in the way they trusted the laws of nature.

No other modern orator, certainly no member of Parliament in recent times, has drawn upon the Bible for point and illustration as frequently and effectively as John Bright did. There is much testimony to the effect that his reading of the Bible on public occasions and in his own home produced upon the listeners an unforgettable impression. The voice, the manner, the sympathetic interpretation of the passage by one whose spirit seemed consonant with the inspired words reached home and created a kind of awe on those who heard him. A great effect was achieved, too, by his appropriate references to Scripture characters and events. Some of his most memorable passages, passages which touched many hearts, are formed from incidents found in this great book of the ages. Other members of the House of Commons quoted Latin poetry and adorned their speeches from classical literature. Bright was not at home there,

but he was at home with the Bible and with the best English literature.

When he entered Gladstone's cabinet in 1868, in a speech thanking his Birmingham constituents for re-election, he said:

I have not aspired at any time of my life to the rank of a Privy Councillor, nor to the dignity of a Cabinet office. I should have preferred much to have remained in that common rank of simple citizenship in which hitherto I have lived. There is a passage in the Old Testament which has often struck me as being one of great beauty. Many of you will recollect that the prophet, in journeying to and fro, was very hospitably entertained by what is termed in the Bible a Shunammite woman. In return for her hospitality, he wished to make her some amends, and he called her to him and asked her what there was he should do for her. "Shall I speak for thee to the king," he said, "or to the captain of the host?" Now it has always appeared to me that the Shunammite woman returned a natural answer. She replied, in declining the prophet's offer, "I dwell among mine own people." When the question was put to me whether I would step into the position in which I now find myself, the answer from my heart was the same—I wish to dwell among mine own people. Happily the time may have come—I trust it has come—when in this country an honest man may enter the service of the Crown, and at the same time not feel it in any degree necessary to dissociate himself from his own people.

One of the most happy allusions which he ever made was when he likened a dissenting group of the Liberal Party to the "Cave of Adullam," an allusion which produced a storm of laughter in the House and set the nation searching its Bible. Sometimes he even dared to illustrate his position from the simple customs and practices of his own Society. There is a fine and eloquent passage of this sort in his speech on the Burial Bill, in Parliament in 1875, which at the time produced a profound effect. It is as follows:

I will take the case of my own sect, and try to draw an argument from that. We have no baptism; we do not think it necessary. We have no service—no ordered and stated service—over the dead. We do not think that necessary. But when

a funeral occurs in my sect, the body is borne with as much decency and solemnity as in any other sect or in any other case to the graveside. The coffin is laid by the side of the grave. The family and friends and the mourners stand around, and they are given some time—no fixed time; it may be five minutes or ten, or even longer—for that private and solemn meditation to which the grave invites even the most unthinking and the most frivolous. If any one there feels it his duty to offer any word of exhortation, he is at liberty to offer it. If he feels that he can bow the knee and offer a prayer to Heaven, not for the dead, but for those who stand around the grave, for comfort for the widow or for succour and fatherly care for the fatherless children, that prayer is offered. Well, but if this were done in one of your graveyards—if, for example, such a thing were done there, and a member of my sect, or a Baptist, an Independent, or a Wesleyan came to be interred in one of your graveyards, and if some God-fearing and good man there spoke some word of exhortation, or on his knees offered a prayer to God, is there one of you on this side of the House or on that, or one of your clergymen, or any thoughtful and Christian man connected with your Church, who would dare in the sight of Heaven to condemn that, or to interfere with it by force of law?

The Quakers have always been intensely humanitarian. It has been a central note of their message, from the Commonwealth days to the present, that man is a being of infinite value and of divine possibilities and that every effort should be made that can lead to the liberation of men from their burdens and limitations. Friends have never taken refuge in theology. It has never seemed to them a solution of the problem to substitute an eschatology for an actually transformed world here. They do not feel relieved of the task of raising man to his full glory and joy of life on earth by the hope that he will get his triumph in a new aeon and in another world. They believe that the first business of life for a Christian person is to make his positive contribution to the realization of the Kingdom of God in the world here where men struggle and suffer. This was John Bright's practical gospel and he gave it voice and demonstration. His entire public life was dedicated to the fuller liberation of men and to the achievement of better conditions of life

for hampered and burdened men and women. He once said that he could not understand how "people who can tell us so much about the next world should know so little about the present one"!

The Society of Friends in his youth was slowly breaking away from its quietistic inheritance and it was shaking itself wide awake for its work in the world. The humanitarian awakening in the early quarter of the century had produced a pervasive spirit throughout the entire Society and it was a part of "the necessary air" which John Bright breathed in his youth. Already Joseph Pease had broken his way into Parliament (1832–1833) and had become a member of that body without taking an oath. There were still many timid Friends who were afraid of the "world" and its lures, who wished Friends to remain "a quiet people apart," but the hedges were already broken through and the way was open for a brave and determined man to have a public career.[1]

The iniquitous "Corn Laws" first roused John Bright and called out the moral fighting force that was in him. The first "Corn Law" was passed soon after the battle of Waterloo. It prohibited the importation of "corn," *i.e.* wheat, from abroad until domestic wheat was selling at eighty shillings a quarter. This created a very high artificial price for wheat and made bread correspondingly dear. In 1828 a new law was passed which substituted a "sliding scale," by which wheat was admitted at a duty of one shilling when the price of domestic wheat was seventy-three shillings a quarter, but the duty was to rise to a prohibitive standard as the home price fell below seventy-three shillings. This second law worked in practice

[1] "In 1843 there was a sentence in the *Yearly Meeting's Epistle* which ended with the words, *We trust Friends may always be found amongst those who are quiet in the land.* John Bright sprang to his feet to express a hope that this sentence was not intended to condemn those who were striving to effect the repeal of unjust laws! The Clerk rose to call the speaker to order, but before the reproof could be uttered the young man went on, *Now the Clerk need not fear that I will introduce politics into this assembly*, and proceeded to make an effective speech, in which the word *corn* did not occur, but which was in effect a defence of the action of himself and his friends. Applause is unknown in the Yearly Meeting, but a slight tapping noise was heard as John Bright resumed his seat."—Trevelyan's *John Bright*, p. 105.

about the same hardship that the former one had done. The normal effect of the tax was that the ordinary labourer with a family paid a fifth of his wages for the tax on bread. Against this appalling monopoly—which especially benefited the landlords, the tenant farmers and the tithe-supported clergy—John Bright waged unceasing moral warfare, with all the growing power of his oratory, until the great battle was won in 1846. John Bright was called to this public mission by Richard Cobden, who came as a friend to condole with him when he was crushed by the loss of his young wife, Elizabeth Priestman, who died in 1841. Cobden, after expressing his words of deep personal sympathy, looked Bright in the face and said: "There are thousands of houses in England at this moment where wives, mothers, and children are dying of hunger. Now, when the first paroxysm of your grief is past, I would advise you to come with me, and we will never rest till the Corn Law is repealed."

This great struggle of his early life, through which he discovered himself, found the power of his voice and perceived that he was to be, "else sinning greatly, a dedicated spirit," prepared him for a life-long championship of the rights and privileges of the people. There were other taxes which laid an unnecessary burden on the poor and he attacked them as he had attacked the bread-tax. Throughout his parliamentary period (1843–1889) one of the main concerns of his life was the expansion of the franchise so that the labouring man might share in the life of the nation and be defended with the power of a vote. When he began this fight five out of every six had no vote. It was in no small measure through his persistent efforts, his mighty voice, and his unswerving loyalty to the cause of the labouring man that this unjust condition was forever removed and England became in reality a nation of the people. He was, for the same consistent reason, always endeavouring to give larger liberties and greater scope of life and power to the people in Ireland and in India. It is sometimes

said that John Bright did not understand the real problems of Indian government, which may possibly in some restricted sense be true, but he was in any case right in insisting, as he was bound to do as a consistent Quaker, that these human individuals who composed the people of India and Ireland had certain fundamental and inalienable rights—rights from God as men whom He made—and that no government could be soundly based or wisely administered which did not work for the comfort and freedom and expansion of these human people.[1] On his fiftieth birthday he wrote to his sister:

> At the age of fifty we discover that not much is done in a lifetime, and yet that, notwithstanding all the immeasurable ignorance and stupidity of the majority of the race, there is a gradual and sensible victory being gained over barbarism and wrong of every kind. I think we may, in some sort, console ourselves. If we can't win as fast as we wish, we know that our opponents can't in the long run win at all.

This steady life-long work as champion of the rights of unrepresented people is John Bright's great contribution to human history and to the world's progress, but he rose to his most heroic moral height in the dark days of two great wars—the Crimean and the American Civil War—and his great speeches were delivered when he was passing through these crises as the exponent of unpopular principles.

No other great modern war is now so universally condemned by the moral judgment of the English nation as is the Crimean war. It has almost no defenders, and it stands out as an appalling blunder of the responsible statesmen of the period. But it was demanded at the time by an almost unanimous press, and the country was swept by a war fever of unusual magnitude and contagion. It is difficult to understand the psychology of that war-passion or to comprehend how there could have been such enthusiasm for a war that enlisted England

[1] John Bright's splendid service to Ireland inspired Barry O'Brien to write his biography, which is an excellent monograph. R. Barry O'Brien's *John Bright* (London, 1910).

on the wrong side of the issue and that was fought to subject Greeks and Christians to Turks.

One great voice stood out and like an oracle announced even then the judgment of posterity. John Bright saw, while the war was being fomented and fought, what almost everybody saw after the event stood in its true light through the perspective of history. His famous letter to Absalom Watkin printed in the London *Times*, printed the day before the battle of Inkerman was fought, put the issue as clear as a bell, a fragment of which letter is here given:

> This is war—every crime which human nature can commit or imagine, every horror it can perpetuate or suffer; and this it is which our Christian Government recklessly plunges into, and which so many of our countrymen at this moment think it patriotic to applaud! You must excuse me if I cannot go with you. I will have no part in this terrible crime. My hands shall be unstained with the blood which is being shed. The necessity of maintaining themselves in office may influence an administration; delusions may mislead a people; *Vattel* may afford you a law and a defence; but no respect for men who form a Government, no regard I have for "going with the stream," and no fear of being deemed wanting in patriotism, shall influence me in favour of a policy which, in my conscience, I believe to be as criminal before God as it is destructive to the true interest of my country.

Speaking like a prophet in the House of Commons at a later date he declared:

> I say—and I say it with as much confidence as I ever said anything in my life—that the war cannot be justified out of these documents; and that impartial history will teach this to *posterity if we do not comprehend it now*. I am not, nor did I ever pretend to be, a statesman; and that character is so tainted and so equivocal in our day that I am not sure that a pure and honourable ambition would aspire to it. I have not enjoyed for thirty years, like these noble Lords, the honours and emoluments of office. I have not set my sails to every passing breeze. I am a plain and simple citizen, sent here by one of the foremost constituencies of the Empire, representing feebly, perhaps, but honestly, I dare aver, the opinions of very many, and the true interests of all those who have sent me here. Let it not be said

that I am alone in my condemnation of this war, and of this incapable and guilty Administration. And even if I were alone, if mine were a solitary voice, raised amid the din of arms and the clamours of a venal press, I should have the consolation I have to-night—and which I trust will be mine to the last moment of my existence—the priceless consolation that no word of mine has tended to promote the squandering of my country's treasure or the spilling of one single drop of my country's blood.[1]

Gladstone's comment on this part of Bright's career is peculiarly fine and impressive, since Gladstone himself stood with the war party and in approving Bright was condemning himself. He said with magnanimity in 1889:

We had known his courage and consistency. We had known his splendid eloquence, which then was and afterwards came to be acknowledged as the loftiest which had sounded within these walls for generations. But we had not till then known how high the moral tone of these popular leaders [Bright and Cobden] had been elevated, and we had not known of the splendid examples they could set to the whole of their contemporaries, and to coming generations, of a readiness to part with all the sympathies and with all the support they had held so dear for the sake of right and conscientious conviction.[2]

These words of Gladstone—"a readiness to part with all the sympathies and with all the support they had held so dear"—were not mere phrases; they told the cold facts. A pitiless storm of attack and abuse broke upon the man who dared to stand against the course of the government and the popular will. He was assailed by the newspapers, he was ridiculed in *Punch*, he was pilloried in Tennyson's "Maud," but he was unmoved by the storm raging around him, and as the blunders of the leaders and the sufferings of the people multiplied he continued to "impress on the conscience of the nation that its miseries and losses were the result of the criminal act of plunging into an unnecessary war." He had attained a vast popularity, he had won a sound reputation for political sagacity, he was

[1] Speech of 22nd December 1854. *Speeches of John Bright*, edited by J. E. T. Rogers (London, 1869), vol. i. pp. 481, 482.
[2] Gladstone's Eulogy on Bright, 29th March 1889.

already recognized as a great orator and a man with a future. All that he had achieved was now staked on the soundness of his conscientious insight, his future career was ventured in the faith that the convictions of his heart could be safely followed. He was hung in effigy. He was shot at like a new St. Sebastian. But he was unmoved and unterrified. He delivered five great speeches during this period. He attacked the policy of making alliances with other nations and advocated instead "the cultivation of friendship with all nations." He denounced the dangerous experiment of trying to maintain "balance of power" in Europe, which, he believed, entailed frequent wars and meant "the end of all hopes of permanent peace." He expressed his disapproval of a course which made England assume the position of "knight-errant of the human race." He dared to tell the existing government that it would be "more glorious to fall in the endeavour to preserve peace than to reign through the calamities of war." He pictured with an eloquence and moral power which have never been surpassed, the havoc and loss inherent in war. His description of the death of two members of Parliament during the course of the war produced a profound impression upon all who heard his words:

When I look at gentlemen on that Bench, and consider all their policy has brought about within the last twelve months, I scarcely dare trust myself to speak of them, either in or out of their presence. We all know what we have lost in this House. Here, sitting near me, very often sat the member for Frome [Colonel Boyle]. I met him, a short time before he went out, at Mr. Westerton's, the bookseller, near Hyde Park Corner. I asked him whether he was going out. He answered he was afraid he was; not afraid in the sense of personal fear, he knew not that; but he said, with a look and a tone I shall never forget, "It is no light matter for a man who has a wife and five little children." The stormy Euxine is his grave; his wife is a widow, his children fatherless. On the other side of the House sat a member, with whom I was not acquainted, who has lost his life, and another of whom I knew something [Colonel Blair]. Who is there that does not recollect his frank, amiable, and manly countenance? I doubt whether there were any men on either

side of the House who were more capable of fixing the good-will and affection of those with whom they were associated. Well, but the place that knew them shall know them no more for ever.[1]

The passage in his speeches which surpassed all others for eloquence and moral power was "the angel of death" passage in his speech of 23rd February 1855:

I do not suppose that your troops are to be beaten in actual conflict with the foe, or that they will be driven into the sea; but I am certain that many homes in England in which there now exists a fond hope that the distant one may return—many such homes may be rendered desolate when the next mail shall arrive. *The Angel of Death has been abroad throughout the land; you may almost hear the beating of his wings.* There is no one, as when the first-born were slain of old, to sprinkle with blood the lintel and the two sideposts of our doors, that he may spare and pass on; he takes his victims from the castle of the noble, the mansion of the wealthy, and the cottage of the poor and the lowly, and it is on behalf of all these classes that I make this solemn appeal.

I tell the noble Lord [Palmerston] that if he be ready honestly and frankly to endeavour, by the negotiations about to be opened at Vienna, to put an end to this war, no word of mine, no vote of mine, will be given to shake his power for one single moment, or to change his position in this House. I am sure that the noble Lord is not inaccessible to appeals made to him from honest motives and with no unfriendly feeling. The noble Lord has been for more than forty years a member of this House. Before I was born he sat upon the Treasury Bench, and he has spent his life in the service of his country. He is no longer young, and his life has extended almost to the term allotted to man. I would ask, I would entreat the noble Lord to take a course which, when he looks back upon his whole political career —whatever he may therein find to be pleased with, whatever to regret—cannot but be a source of gratification to him. By adopting that course he would have the satisfaction of reflecting that, having obtained the object of his laudable ambition—having become the foremost subject of the Crown, the director of, it may be, the destinies of his country, and the presiding genius in her councils, he had achieved a still higher and nobler ambition, that he had returned the sword to the scabbard; that at his word torrents of blood had ceased to flow, that he had restored

[1] Speech delivered 22nd December 1854. *Speeches*, vol. i. p. 480.

tranquillity to Europe, and saved this country from the indescribable calamities of war.[1]

After that speech Disraeli came to John Bright and said: "Bright, I would give all I ever had to have made that speech you made just now." And Bright replied: "Well, you might have made it if you had been honest."[2]

One more selection from the speeches growing out of the Crimean War must be given, the one which describes the unendurable load of taxes which every war drags in its train:

> They mean an absence of medical attendance for a sick wife, an absence of the school pence of three or four little children, hopeless toil to the father of a family, penury through his life, a cheerless age, and at last
>
> "The little bell
> Toll'd hastily for a pauper's funeral."
>
> That is what taxes mean. Is war the only thing a nation enters upon in which the cost is never to be reckoned? Is it nothing that in twelve months you have sacrificed 20,000 or 30,000 men, who a year ago were your own fellow-citizens, living in your midst, and interested, as you are, in all the social and political occurrences of the day?[3]

This hard crisis in his life proved to be the most important factor in the making of his enduring fame, and at this period, as never before or perhaps afterwards, he taught his countrymen that "the moral law is intended not only for individual life but for the life and practice of States in their dealing with one another."

The American Civil War (1860–1865) found John Bright once more on the right side in a stern crisis, in which the English Government leaned toward the other side and in which the people were divided with an ominous inclination toward the slave confederacy. His voice, once again, uttered the deepest notes of his moral nature, and he did more for the cause of the Union than any other man in England. Such words as these cannot be forgotten:

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[1] *Speeches*, vol. ii. p. 490. [2] Trevelyan's *John Bright*, p. 245.
[3] Speech of 7th June 1855.

As for me, I have but this to say: I am but one in this audience, and but one in the citizenship of this country; but if all other tongues are silent, mine shall speak for that policy which gives hope to the bondsmen of the South, and which tends to generous thoughts, and generous words, and generous deeds, between the two great nations who speak the English language, and from their origin are alike entitled to the English name."[1]

His remarkable series of letters to Charles Sumner are as lofty in spirit and as wise in statesman-like insight as were his public speeches. A letter, dated 27th February 1862, contained these noble words:

I believe a higher power than that of President and Congress watches over the interests of mankind in these great passages of the history of our race, and I will trust that in this supreme hour of your country's being, it will not fail you.

His real vision and the steady faith of his soul find loftiest expression in the eloquent peroration of his Birmingham speech of 18th December 1862—a passage which most American schoolboys know by heart:

I do not blame any man here who thinks the cause of the North hopeless and the restoration of the Union impossible. It may be hopeless; the restoration may be impossible. You have the authority of the Chancellor of the Exchequer on that point. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, as a speaker, is not surpassed by any man in England, and he is a great statesman; he believes the cause of the North to be hopeless; that their enterprise cannot succeed.

Well, he is quite welcome to that opinion, and so is anybody else. I do not hold that opinion; but the facts are before us all, and, as far as we can discard passion and sympathy, we are all equally at liberty to form our own opinion. But what I do blame is this. I blame men who are eager to admit into the family of nations a State which offers itself to us based upon a principle, I will undertake to say, more odious and more blasphemous than was ever heretofore dreamed of in Christian or Pagan, in civilized or in savage times. The leaders of this revolt propose this monstrous thing—that over a territory forty times as large as England, the blight and curse of slavery shall be for ever perpetuated.

I cannot believe, for my part, that such a fate will befall that

[1] Speech at Rochdale on the *Trent* affair, 4th December 1861.

fair land, stricken though it now is with the ravages of war. I cannot believe that civilization, in its journey with the sun, will sink into endless night in order to gratify the ambition of the leaders of this revolt, who seek to

> "Wade through slaughter to a throne,
> And shut the gates of mercy on mankind."

I have another and a far brighter vision before my gaze. It may be but a vision, but I will cherish it. I see one vast confederation stretching from the frozen North in unbroken line to the glowing South, and from the wild billows of the Atlantic westward to the calmer waters of the Pacific main; and I see one people, and one language, and one law, and one faith, and, over all the wide Continent, the home of freedom, and a refuge for the oppressed of every race and of every clime.[1]

In this short study, devoted not to Bright's public career in detail but rather to his moral service to England and to modern civilization there is no occasion to deal now with his work in later life as member of the cabinet. He never aspired to this exalted position and he never felt at home in it, nor was he at his best in this field of service. The world remembers his resignation as a moral protest against the bombardment of Alexandria better than it remembers any of his administrative acts, and his course at this crisis brought once more to clear light his testimony that there is no "auguster thing" than "the tribunal which God has set up in the conscience."[2]

Caroline Fox once wrote, speaking of Bright: "There is a downright manliness in the whole nature of the man."[3] The thing that marked him most was that quality of life which his own Society has always called

[1] *Speeches*, vol. i. pp. 224, 225.

[2] "I speak not the language of party. I feel myself above the level of party. I speak, as I have endeavoured to speak, on behalf of the unenfranchised, the almost voiceless millions of my countrymen. Their claim is just, and it is constitutional. It will be heard. It cannot be rejected. To the outward eye, monarchs and Parliaments seem to rule with an absolute and unquestioned sway, but—and I quote the words which one of our old Puritan poets has left for us—

> 'There is on earth a yet auguster thing,
> Veiled though it be, than Parliament or King.'

That auguster thing is the tribunal which God has set up in the consciences of men. It is before that tribunal that I am now permitted humbly to plead, and there is something in my heart—a small but an exultant voice—which tells me I shall not plead in vain."—Bright at Birmingham, Dec. 1865.

[3] Letter of 14th October 1868 in *Memories of Old Friends*.

the Truth. He would not swerve, he refused to deal in what he named "sub-intents and saving clauses," he trusted his entire case, and his own career, to the puissant force of naked truth, and it bore him out. These words of his well express his faith: "We have the unchangeable and eternal principles of the moral law to guide us, and only so far as we walk by that guidance can we be permanently a great nation, or our people a happy people."

He continued throughout his life to worship with Friends and to identify himself with the Society which he loved and which his life honoured and interpreted. He did not approve of its exclusive and sectarian traits. He was strenuously opposed to the narrow enforcement of antiquated Discipline, such, for example, as the disownment of members for marrying non-Friends, but on the central principles of the Society he took his stand and on these principles he fought his moral battles. No other Friend since William Penn has put the Quaker peace-position to such a public test, and no other Friend has succeeded to the extent he did in carrying Quaker ideals into practice as the sound and stable basis of national policy.

II

John Greenleaf Whittier

If John Bright succeeded in giving the Quaker faith and ideals their most impressive expression in public life, John Greenleaf Whittier gave the inner life and central conception of Quakerism their most adequate interpretation.

Whittier just missed having, like Bright, a great public career in the field of politics and statesmanship. He had a strong leaning toward a political life and he had very marked gifts for succeeding in it, but the breaking of his health in early manhood, and the semi-invalidism which followed closed that door for ever. The shutting of this door, however, only meant the opening of another door

into a type of life still more suited to his nature and disposition.

He was born in 1807, of Huguenot descent, in an isolated farmhouse nestled under a fine range of wooded hills near a beautiful stream, tributary to the larger "Country Brook," in the town of Haverhill, Massachusetts. His mother was a saintly woman, possessed of wisdom, dignity, native grace, and courtesy, and revealing a rare beauty of inward life and a great depth of love. His sister Elizabeth,

> A full, rich nature, free to trust,
> Truthful and almost sternly just,
> Impulsive, earnest, prompt to act,
> And make her generous thought a fact,
> Keeping with many a light disguise
> The secret of self-sacrifice,[1]

was one of the greatest blessings God ever gave the poet and one of the most decisive influences in his life.

He found himself and formed his ideals in an almost perfect Quaker environment for that period. The religion of his home was a fragrant spiritual atmosphere, embodied in pure and saintly lives. Every aspect of daily duty was coloured by it. Truth, honour, sincerity were quietly translated into deed and action rather than talked about and discussed. Hardly less evident was the mystical strain in the family life. They worshipped in silence, they had the well-formed habit of looking inward and of listening for guidance, they accepted the inner Light as the basic fact in religion and in morals, and Whittier's Aunt Mercy,

> The sweetest woman ever Fate
> Perverse denied a household mate,[2]

told the boy haunting tales of mystic experience.

The Quaker meeting, which was held at Amesbury, a long country drive from home, was profoundly quietistic in its tendencies, but it did for a serious-minded boy what no theological preaching of that period could perhaps

[1] "Snow-bound." [2] *Ibid.*

have done. It sent him on his own search for God and trained him to expect awe-inspiring revelations within his own breast. The visiting Friends—the itinerant Ministers—who came to the meeting and to the country home brought into the little circle uplifting, soul-expanding messages which awakened the eager boy and enlarged his conceptions of life. There was a power about these visiting "prophets," coming from the great unvisited world and bringing the word of God to the little community at Amesbury, that hardly could have attached to a permanent dweller in the neighbourhood. Among those who came was that passionate lover of human freedom, that high-souled, almost Franciscan saint, William Forster, whom no country youth could ever forget. The Bible and the stories of Quaker heroes were from his earliest days woven into the very tissue of his life and became an indissoluble part of his memory. One of his first attempts at verse gives a rhymed catalogue of their scanty books, beginning—

> The Bible towering o'er all the rest,
> Of all other books the best.

Edmund Stedman once said with much truth: "The Bible is rarely absent from his verse, and its spirit never." And yet he did not hold the Puritan attitude toward the Bible. It always took him beyond itself. He went to it, he lived upon it, he loved it, because he felt its inspiration, because it found him and searched his heart and spoke to his condition and revealed life to him and made him confident that in all ages God, who was speaking here, spoke His thoughts and made known His will in the shekinah within men's souls.[1]

Whittier's early school opportunities were narrow and meagre. The country district school of his day had grave limitations, but it dealt pretty well with the few essential things which it undertook to do. At the age of twenty—

[1] He wrote in 1840: "We believe in the Scriptures because they believe in us, because they repeat the warnings and promises of the indwelling Light and Truth, because we find the law and prophets in our souls." Samuel T. Pickard's *John Greenleaf Whittier: Life and Letters* (Boston, 1894), vol. i. p. 264.

a tall, manly, dark-haired, dark-eyed youth—he entered Haverhill Academy and here completed his academic education, since a college course seemed at the time out of his reach. Already before the academy days he had discovered a source of education that was destined to shape his life and affect his career more than any school education could have done. This was the discovery of the irresistible charm and power of English literature. The passion was first kindled on hearing his school teacher, Joshua Coffin, read the poems of Robert Burns. Whittier has happily told this story in his poem, "Burns":

I woke to find the simple truth
Of fact and feeling better
Than all the dreams that held my youth
A still repining debtor:

That Nature gives her handmaid, Art,
The themes of sweet discoursing;
The tender idylls of the heart
In every tongue rehearsing.

Why dream of lands of gold and pearl,
Of loving knight and lady,
When farmer boy and barefoot girl
Were wandering there already?

I saw through all familiar things
The romance underlying;
The joys and griefs that plume the wings
Of fancy skyward flying.

From the time of this discovery he took every chance to add a volume of poems to his little collection of books, and he spent whatever leisure he could get from farm or school reading his masters and making his first attempts in poetic creation. He wrote a multitude of youthful poems which were readily published in the newspapers and periodicals of the day and extensively reprinted through the country, the first one to appear being printed by William Lloyd Garrison in his *Free Press*, having been sent to the editor surreptitiously by Whittier's sister Mary.[1]

After leaving the academy Whittier had a strenuous

[1] The incident is interestingly told in Garrison's *Life*, vol. i. pp. 67, 68.

period of journalistic work, his main interest being New England politics, though gradually all other interests yielded to his one absorbing desire to promote the abolition of slavery. The positive call to undertake this definite task as a life-mission was given to him by William Lloyd Garrison, who was also the first person outside the family to discover his poetic genius. Garrison wrote the following remarkable letter to young Whittier, 22nd March 1833:

I presume you have been busy with your pen—your elastic, vigorous, glowing pen—and are preparing to surprise and delight the public. Study to make your productions as much distinguished for their usefulness as their brilliancy, and you will bless mankind.

My brother, there are upwards of two million of our countrymen who are doomed to the most horrible servitude which ever cursed our race and blackened the page of history. There are one hundred thousand of their offspring kidnapped annually from their birth. The southern portion of our country is going down to destruction, physically and morally, with a swift descent, carrying other portions with her. This, then, is a time for the philanthropist—any friend of his country—to put forth his energies, in order to let the oppressed go free, and sustain the republic. The cause is worthy of Gabriel: yes, the God of hosts places himself at its head. Whittier, enlist!—Your talents, zeal, influence—all are needed.

The effect was greater than could have been dreamed. Whittier was prepared by nature, disposition, and nurture to be a champion of moral causes. He was ready to bring all his finely formed powers into this arena and his answer to the summons was in no uncertain terms. The words which he later wrote to describe Charles Sumner's decision admirably fit his own case:

"Forego thy dreams of lettered ease,
Put thou the scholar's promise by,
The rights of man are more than these."
He heard, and answered: "Here am I!"[1]

Strong as was his passion for poetry he now had a still stronger one burning within. "I would rather have the memory of a Howard, a Wilberforce, or a Clarkson,"

[1] "Sumner."

he wrote at this period, "than the undying fame of Byron," and he wrote about the same time to Garrison: "Heart and hand I unite with you in denouncing those fearful evils—slavery, intemperance, and war."[1] The reforming spirit of his Quaker faith and the zeal to right the human wrongs of the world seemed from a very early period incarnate in him. There was in him a very unusual depth of moral insight and a voice of conscience spoke within him which hushed and stilled all other voices. A friend who knew him well and who spoke with authority of his youthful character wrote of him:

> When a wrong was to be righted, or an evil to be remedied, he was readier to act than any young man I ever knew, and was very wise in his action—shrewd, sensible, practical. The influence of his Quaker bringing-up was manifest.[2]

When he turned aside from a distinctly literary career to obey the inner call to give his life and all his powers to the cause of the freedom of the slave, he seemed to be making a stern, hard sacrifice. He was allying himself with unpopular men and with a cause that was sure to bring him reproach and scorn. He cast the die without hesitation, he put by his eager ambition, he accepted the pinch of poverty, which lasted many years, and he spoke out with a clear, decisive, uncompromising voice. The first great contribution which he made, and which from the first marked the lines of the moral battle which he was to wage, was his pamphlet printed in 1833 at his own expense entitled, *Justice and Expediency*. The quotation from Lord Brougham which he put at the head of his downright message expressed with vigour his own central principle of life:

> There is a law above all the enactments of human codes, the same throughout the world, the same in all time—such as it was before the daring genius of Columbus pierced the night of ages, and opened to one world the sources of wealth and power and knowledge, to another unutterable woes; such as it is at this day: it is the law written by the finger of God upon the heart of man; and by that law, unchangeable and eternal, while men despise

[1] Pickard, vol. i. p. 76.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 59.

fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they shall reject with indignation the wild and guilty fantasy that man can hold property in man.[1]

Greater, however, in kindling and convicting power than any of his prose writings were the inspired poems which poured forth from his pen without cessation until the triumph was won. Year by year, as maturity came to him, and character accumulated and moral force increased, the power and poetic quality of his verse became continually more evident, and the prophet-mission of the man was more marked. As the development of his life advanced and the expanding range of his poetry became revealed, it grew plain to all that the way of reproach and self-sacrifice was for him, as for so many others before him, to be the path to a richer and fuller life, and to a greater fame than would ever have been possible along level paths of ease and self-seeking. His alliance with an unpopular cause was his supreme good fortune, and through the agony and passion of the moral struggle he found his own soul and laid the pillars of an enduring temple of fame.

In "The Tent on the Beach," he wrote of himself:

> And one there was, a dreamer born,
> Who, with a mission to fulfil,
> Had left the Muses' haunts to turn
> The crank of an opinion-mill,
> Making his rustic reed of song
> A weapon in the war with wrong,
> Yoking his fancy to the breaking-plough
> That beam-deep turned the soil for truth to spring and grow.

And in commenting on these lines in a letter to Edwin Lawrence Godkin, Whittier said:

> The simple fact is that I cannot be sufficiently grateful to the Divine Providence that so early called my attention to the great interests of humanity, saving me from the poor ambitions and miserable jealousies of a selfish pursuit of literary reputation.[2]

Among all the reformers of those eventful years, he

[1] This article is printed in Whittier's *Works*, vol. vii.
[2] Pickard, vol. ii. p. 513.

was the wisest practical counsellor, the best able to deal with legislators and public men, the shrewdest political leader, the best guide in an anti-slavery convention, and one of the most gifted editorial writers as well as the most inspired poet of the movement.[1] By a stroke of genius he selected Charles Sumner for the United States Senate, he was one of the dominant influences in securing his election, he was the frequent adviser of the great senator in times of crisis, and he more than any one else secured the passage of the Expunging Act in the Massachusetts legislature which annulled the hasty and mistaken censure passed upon the senator near the end of his life.[2]

If for one moment turned thy face,
O Mother, from thy son, not long
He waited calmly in his place
The sure remorse that follows wrong.

Forgiven be the State he loved
The one brief lapse, the single blot;
Forgotten be the stain removed,
Her righted record shows it not![3]

But this brief study of Whittier must leave the details of his public work untouched. We must turn to deal now with his interpretation of the inner life, and with his distinctly religious message. He shows throughout his entire writings, both in prose and verse, the persistent

[1] Pickard's judgment is sound when he says: "It is seldom that the world has seen such an example of the poetic and devotional temperament combined with pre-eminent political sagacity and business judgment as in the case of Whittier." He was one of the foremost founders of the Republican Party, an intimate friend and adviser of General Frémont who was its first national candidate. He was planner of far-reaching policies which in some strange way he induced the politicians to adopt and execute.

[2] "Solitary and alone I set the ball in motion," he wrote, after the Expunging Act was passed. Pickard, vol. i. p. 586.

[3] Whittier's Memorial Poem, "Sumner." In his sonnet "To Charles Sumner" Whittier refers to the visit which he paid to Sumner by the seashore when he went in 1850 to urge him to become a candidate for the Senate:

"I have
Rejoiced to see thy actual life agree
With the large future which I shaped for thee,
When, years ago, beside the summer sea,
White in the moon, we saw the long waves fall
Baffled and broken from the rocky wall."

Quaker dislike of rigid creeds. This did not in the least indicate weakness of faith or any blurring of truth in his mind. It only meant that he looked upon religious truth, as all mystics do, primarily as personal experience and not as dogma, and as therefore being too rich, complex, and many-sided to be forced into inelastic phrases.

> In bondage to the letter still,
> We give it power to cramp and kill,—
> To tax God's fulness with a scheme
> Narrower than Peter's house-top dream.[1]

He felt that religion was an endless quest, full of surprises and fresh discoveries rather than a finished declaration passed on unaltered from scribe to scribe. In 1887 he wrote to Edward Worsdell of England saying that earnest seekers after truth in all denominations "find it impossible to accept much which seems to them irreverent and dishonouring to God in creeds founded on an arbitrary arrangement of isolated and often irrelevant texts—the letter that killeth without the Spirit which alone giveth life."[2] It seemed to him that the pursuit of truth, the conquest of faith, the endless yearning for clearer sight of the realities by which we live is a diviner thing than accepting outright ready-made formulas of religion could ever be. It was with something like this in mind that he wrote:

> From scheme and creed the light goes out,
> The saintly fact survives:
> The blessed Master none can doubt
> Revealed in holy lives.[3]
>
> The letter fails, and systems fall,
> And every symbol wanes;
> The Spirit over-brooding all
> Eternal Love remains.[4]
>
> I trace your lines of argument;
> Your logic linked and strong
> I weigh as one who dreads dissent,
> And fears a doubt as wrong.

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[1] "Miriam."
[2] Pickard, vol. ii. p. 723.
[3] "The Friend's Burial."
[4] "Our Master."

But still my human hands are weak
To hold your iron creeds:
Against the words ye bid me speak
My heart within me pleads.[1]

His underlying faith, which touched and affected all his thought and all his attitudes, was a calm confidence in God. Like all affirmative mystics, his own Quaker fathers included, he accepted, as a foundation of truth, the immanence of God. Through all his poems this truth runs, and it mingles with all his thought of the world as the perfume does with the flower.

We are reaching, through His laws,
To the garment-hem of Cause,
Him, the endless, unbegun,
The Unnamable, the One
Light of all our light the Source,
Life of life, and Force of force.

. . . . . .

As, in life's best hours, we hear,
By the spirit's finer ear
His low voice within us, thus
The All-Father heareth us.[2]

Through all the primitive strivings of the race, even in the naïve doll-stage when man worshipped by the help of idols, Whittier recognized a consciousness, dim and ill-defined though it was, of divine presence, and he believed that men were seeking God because in some sense they had already found Him. This view, so often expressed by early Friends, was very dear to Whittier. One passage, taken from "Miriam," must suffice:

Wherever through the ages rise
The altars of self-sacrifice,
Where love its arms has opened wide,
Or man for man has calmly died,
I see the same white wings outspread
That hovered o'er the Master's head.

. . . . . .

I trace His presence in the blind
Pathetic gropings of my kind,—

[1] "The Eternal Goodness." [2] "The Prayer of Agassiz."

In prayers from sin and sorrow wrung,
In cradle-hymns of life they sung,
Each, in its measure, but a part
Of the unmeasured Over-Heart.

Another aspect of his settled, seasoned faith was his deep, abiding conviction that God is eternally good, tender, loving, merciful—for ever and ever Father.

"We can trust Him," he wrote in old age, "to the uttermost. This hope and this trust in the mercy of the All Merciful I have felt impelled to express, yet with a solemn recognition of the awful consequences of alienation from Him, and a full realization of the truth that sin and suffering are inseparable."[1]

Deep below, as high above,
Sweeps the circle of God's love.[2]

Theologically Whittier belongs in fellowship with Horace Bushnell, Phillips Brooks, and Henry Ward Beecher, though he reached his religious position by a different route. He followed out the implications of the original Quaker conception and, untouched by the Calvinism around him, he travelled back and seized by a sound spiritual instinct the revelation of God as given in the gospel itself. He did not rest his faith in the love of God on the steady sequences of nature, nor on the pervading beauty of the outward world, though these facts always impressed his sensitive spirit, but he turned always and irresistibly to the infinite love revealed in Christ. This revelation was for him the central fact of history and the real unveiling of God to human eyes. His poem, "Our Master," is one of the greatest modern interpretations of Christ, and it supplies the key to the poet's central faith:

O Love! O Life! our faith and sight
Thy presence maketh one,
As through transfigured clouds of white
We trace the noon-day sun.

So, to our mortal eyes subdued,
Flesh-veiled, but not concealed,
We know in Thee the fatherhood
And heart of God revealed.

[1] Pickard, vol. ii. p. 683.

[2] "The Grave by the Lake."

We faintly hear, we dimly see,
In differing phrase we pray;
But, dim or clear, we own in Thee
The Light, the Truth, the Way!

He would not consent to theologize about this supreme fact of life, but, once seen as a fact, it altered the entire universe for him and made life not only endurable, but a beautiful gift and favour. Having found this revelation

Most human and yet most divine,
The flower of man and God—

he had the pillars immovably laid for his faith in the Eternal Goodness. His poem with that title is his greatest religious contribution, but the truth which found in that great message its most beautiful expression is always present in his letters and in his other poems. His poem on St. Augustine's Soliloquies, entitled "The Shadow and the Light," is a good example of his lifelong thought:

Between the dreadful cherubim
A Father's face I still discern,
As Moses looked of old on Him,
And saw His glory into goodness turn!

. . . . . .

O Love Divine!—whose constant beam
Shines on the eyes that will not see,
And waits to bless us, while we dream
Thou leavest us because we turn from Thee.

. . . . . .

Nor bounds, nor clime, nor creed thou know'st,
Wide as our need thy favours fall;
The white wings of the Holy Ghost
Stoop, seen or unseen, o'er the heads of all.

This view, this outlook, made Whittier happy and joyous through his long struggle with evil and through a life of pain and physical weakness—a thoroughly optimistic man. He wrote to Lucy Larcom in 1863:

It is a beautiful world—this of ours—a portent of the exceeding beauty yet to be revealed, I suppose. Let us be grateful, and happy as we can; holding fast our faith in the Eternal Goodness.

Whittier was, as has already been indicated, a mystic, and whenever he treats of the basis and authority of religion he does it as the mystics have always done it, in terms of inner experience. There are many autobiographical passages in his poems which emphasize this strand of experience, like the following:

> And listening, with his forehead bowed,
> Heard the Divine compassion fill
> The pauses of the trump and cloud
> With whispers small and still.[1]

The mystic speaks again in these lines from a personal poem:

> But a soul-sufficing answer
> Hath no outward origin;
> More than Nature's many voices
> May be heard within.[2]

He counted "Andrew Rykman's Prayer" one of the best of all his religious poems, and he referred to it in his letters as expressing his own faith and his own experience. These lines from that poem well set forth the experience of divine presence which was a most precious truth to Whittier:

> And, at times, my worn feet press
> Spaces of cool quietness,
> Lilied whiteness shone upon
> Not by light of moon or sun.
> Hours there be of inmost calm,
> Broken but by grateful psalm,
> When I love Thee more than fear Thee,
> And Thy blessed Christ seems near me,
> With forgiving look, as when
> He beheld the Magdalen.

Two letters which he wrote to the editor of *Friends' Review* in 1870 give in clearest form his position on the subject of religion as vital, inward experience. He was disturbed by the signs of a revolution in the thought of the Society to which he belonged. He saw new practices coming in and these he disliked, but more ominous still

[1] "My Namesake."
[2] "To —— with a Copy of John Woolman's Journal."

were the indications of a complete shifting of base from the ancient position of the Light within to the adoption of a theology kindred to that of Calvin. He pleaded with earnestness for the truth which his whole life had verified. After "a kindly and candid survey" of other sects and opinions, he says that he turns with thankfulness to the truth which his own Society has transmitted—"the one distinctive doctrine of Quakerism—the Light within—the immanence of the Divine Spirit in Christianity." The remedy for the decline and weakness of Quakerism, he believes, is not to be found in the adoption of the forms and creeds and practices of "the more demonstrative sects," but in "heeding more closely the inward Guide and Teacher; in faith in Christ, not merely in His historical manifestation of the Divine Love to humanity, but in His loving presence in hearts open to receive Him." The second letter closes with a very penetrating passage which indicates as well as anything Whittier ever wrote the mystical basis of his faith:

> They fail to read clearly the signs of the times, who do not see that the hour is coming when, under the searching eye of philosophy and the terrible analysis of science, the letter and the outward evidence will not altogether avail us; when the surest dependence must be upon the Light of Christ within, disclosing the law and the prophets in our own souls, and confirming the truth of outward Scripture by inward experience; when smooth stones from the brook of present revelation shall prove mightier than the weapons of Saul; when the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, as proclaimed by George Fox and lived by John Woolman, shall be recognized as the only efficient solvent of doubts raised by an age of restless inquiry.[1]

He wrote about the same time to Elizabeth Stuart Phelps:

> The foundations seem breaking up. I only hope that if the planks and stagings of human device give way, we shall find the Eternal Rock beneath. We can do without Bible or church; we cannot do without God; and of Him we are sure. All that

[1] *Two Letters on the Present Aspect of the Society of Friends* (London, 1870), p. 12.

science and criticism can urge cannot shake the self-evident truth that He asks me to be true, just, merciful, and loving, and because He asks me to be so, I know that He is Himself what He requires of me.[1]

This same faith, grounded in his own experience, he put into permanent expression in "Miriam":

> Nor fear I aught that science brings
> From searching through material things;
> . . . . . .
> Since everywhere the Spirit walks
> The garden of the heart, and talks
> With man, as under Eden's trees,
> In all his varied languages.
> . . . . . .
> By inward sense, by outward signs,
> God's presence still the heart divines;
> Through deepest joy of Him we learn,
> In sorest grief to Him we turn,
> And reason stoops its pride to share
> The child-like instinct of a prayer.

He is always practical in his central aim. His mind focusses naturally, subconsciously on action. He swings normally away from the abstract to the concrete and definite. He wants a better world, a liberated humanity, a transformed race. He settled into the hush, and sought for union and communion with God because he desired the inward power and the dynamic experience which would fit him for his part in the great work of the ages. He discovered

> That very near about us lies
> The realm of spiritual mysteries.
> The sphere of the supernal powers
> Impinges on this world of ours—[2]

and he was always eager to draw upon this inexhaustible reservoir for the purposes of constructive life.

One of the most triumphant notes in his message was his large faith in the future—both the future of human life here on earth and the future of the individual soul in

[1] Pickard, vol. ii. p. 568.

[2] "The Meeting."

a life beyond death. "My Triumph" is his loftiest prophecy of the unfolding life of man here below:

> The airs of heaven blow o'er me;
> A glory shines before me
> Of what mankind shall be,—
> Pure, generous, brave, and free.
>
> A dream of man and woman
> Diviner but still human,
> Solving the riddle old,
> Shaping the Age of Gold!
>
> The love of God and neighbour;
> An equal-handed labour;
> The richer life, where beauty
> Walks hand in hand with duty.

Prophecies of the larger life of the soul in a new realm, under new conditions, abound in his poems and in his letters. He was always interested in the accounts which he heard or read of empirical evidence of survival, but he never built his faith on the findings of psychical research. He rested undisturbed on two firm pillars: (1) That "Love is victorious, and there is no dark it cannot light, no depth it cannot reach;"[1] and (2) that personal life, with its lofty sense of duty, its infinite implications, its unfulfilled longing and aspirations, its actual companionship with the Eternal, *must* be conserved and have its adequate fulfilment elsewhere:

> I know not where His islands lift
> Their fronded palms in air;
> I only know I cannot drift
> Beyond His love and care.[2]
>
> Yet love will dream, and Faith will trust,
> (Since He who knows our need is just,)
> That somehow, somewhere, meet we must.[3]

One distinct mark of Whittier's Quaker faith was his firm and unwavering hold of the ideals of Peace. In no other trait of character was he more at one with John Bright than in his devotion to a way of life that would

[1] Mrs. James T. Fields' *Whittier*, p. 91.
[2] "Eternal Goodness." [3] "Snow-bound."

eliminate war. This devotion in his case was, however, achieved and not inherited. He was endowed by nature with a strain of fire and passion, as he himself often noted. There is in one of his prose essays a striking autobiographical reference to a martial strain in his inheritance.

"Without intending any disparagement," he writes, "of my peaceable ancestry for many generations, I have still strong suspicions that somewhat of the old Norman blood, something of the grim Berserker spirit, has been bequeathed to me. How else can I account for the intense childish eagerness with which I listened to the stories of old campaigners who sometimes fought their battles over again in my hearing? Why did I, in my young fancy, go up with Jonathan, the son of Saul, to smite the garrisoned Philistines of Michmash, or with the fierce son of Nun against the cities of Canaan? Why was Mr. Greatheart, in Pilgrim's Progress, my favourite character? What gave such fascination to the narrative of the grand Homeric encounter between Christian and Apollyon in the valley? Why did I follow Ossian over Morven's battlefields, exulting in the vulture-screams of the blind scald over his fallen enemies? Still later, why did the newspapers furnish me with subjects for hero-worship in the half-demented Sir Gregor McGregor, and Ypsilanti at the head of his knavish Greeks? I can account for it only on the supposition that the mischief was inherited—an heirloom from the old sea-kings of the ninth century."[1]

He always felt his deepest moral nature stirred when any wrong was perpetrated or any injustice or oppression forced men to suffer. He was not a submissive spirit—a passive non-resistant. His words burned with a white-hot intensity against any insufferable condition. Lowell has finely described this passion of Whittier's in "A Fable for Critics":

> Our Quaker leads off metaphorical fights
> For reform and whatever they call human rights,
> Both singing and striking in front of the war,
> And hitting his foes with the mallet of Thor;
> *Anne haec*, one exclaims, on beholding his knocks,
> *Vestis filii tui*, O leather-clad Fox?
> Can that be thy son, in the battle's mid din,

[1] Whittier's Essay "The Training" in *Margaret Smith's Journal, Tales and Sketches* (London, 1889), p. 346.

> Preaching brotherly love and then driving it in
> To the brain of the tough old Goliath of sin,
> With the smoothest of pebbles from Castaly's spring
> Impressed on his hard moral sense with a sling?

But with all this fire of moral indignation, and this intense passion for reform, Whittier was at heart a true Quaker. He rested his entire faith and hope on moral forces, on love and justice, and on the slow march of truth and light: "Leave violence," he declared, "where it belongs, with the wrongdoer." As early as 1833 he wrote to a friend: "I thank God that He has given me a deep and invincible horror of butchery."

One of the finest of all the passages in his war-time poems is his personal message to William Bradford in the Prelude to "Amy Wentworth," which describes exactly his inner attitude:

> Nursed in the faith that Truth alone is strong
> In the endurance which outwearies Wrong,
> With meek persistence baffling brutal force,
> And trusting God against the universe,—
> We, doomed to watch a strife we may not share
> With other weapons than the patriot's prayer,
> Yet owning, with full hearts and moistened eyes,
> The awful beauty of self-sacrifice,
> And wrung by keenest sympathy for all
> Who give their loved ones for the living wall
> 'Twixt law and treason.

In the early stages of the tremendous conflict he wrote a vigorous letter to the Society of Friends commending fidelity to the ancient testimony against war, but urging all faithful members to show by their deeds of service and devoted love that "exalted heroism and generous self-sacrifice are not incompatible with our pacific principles."

Of course Whittier's virile patriotism is always in evidence. So, too, is his love for heroism and daring. In a war which involved moral issues, as the Civil War did, he could not be a disinterested spectator, and when the great emancipation was achieved he thrilled with joy. But to the end he remained an unwavering disciple of the Prince of Peace, and he could only say in resignation:

We prayed for love to loose the chain,
'Twas shorn by battle-axe in twain.

It is not possible here to deal with Whittier's portraiture of rugged New England character, his perfect pictures of rural nature—lake and mountain and wild-flower—his rare gift as the interpreter of the life of the common people, his power to tell a weird and haunting legend so that it henceforth becomes an immortal story, nor is there any need to speak of the remarkable quality of his patriotic verse, some of which, as he has told us, wrote itself through him.[1]

This much has been written to gather up the interpretation of life, and the brave moral efforts which this great Quaker of the nineteenth century made. He and his beloved John Woolman are the finest product of Quakerism on our American soil.

[1] "The poem 'Laus Deo!' was suggested to Mr. Whittier as he sat in the Friends' meeting-house in Amesbury, and listened to the bells and the cannon which were proclaiming the passage of the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery in 1865. It was the regular Fifth Day meeting, and as the Friends sat in silence their hearts responded to the joy that filled all the outside air:

'It is done!
Clang of bell and roar of gun
Send the tidings up and down.
How the belfries rock and reel!
How the great guns, peal on peal,
Fling the joy from town to town!

'Let us kneel:
God's own voice is in that peal,
And this spot is holy ground.
Lord, forgive us! What are we,
That our eyes this glory see,
That our ears have heard the sound!'

"It wrote itself, or rather sang itself, while the bells rang." Pickard, vol. ii. pp. 488, 489.

CHAPTER XVII

FRIENDS IN EDUCATION

FROM their earliest origin as a people, Friends have been wisely devoted to the advancement of education, and they have done much toward its development in England and America. George Fox took part in instituting schools for boys and girls when only an incipient form of organization for the Society had been put into operation, and all the far-sighted leaders of the Quaker movement in the early period were interested in liberal education. Fox wrote these wise and comprehensive words to his fellow-members:

> See that schoolmasters and mistresses who are faithful Friends and well qualified be placed and encouraged in all cities and great towns and where they may be needed: the masters to be diligent to forward their scholars in learning and in the frequent reading of the Holy Scriptures and other good books, that being thus *seasoned with the truth*, sanctified to God and taught our holy, self-denying way, they may be instrumental to the glory of God and the generation.[1]

The statement made by Ellis Hookes, recorder of London Yearly Meeting, and Christopher Taylor, master of the first boys' school in Waltham, is a clear announcement of the Quaker idea. They say:

> We deny nothing for children's learning that may be honest and useful for them to know, whether relating to divine principles or that may be outwardly serviceable for them to learn in regard to the outward creation.[2]

[1] For a study of Quaker education in the early period see *Second Period of Quakerism*, chap. xix.

[2] Much information on the history of education in the Society of Friends in

Throughout the first half of the eighteenth century the subject of education claimed the attention of London Yearly Meeting at every annual gathering, and there are references to the importance of sound education in almost every annual Epistle issued by that body. In America the interest in education was no less marked. The interest which was so strong during this early period became greatly increased from 1760 onward. Day schools were held in the premises of many meeting-houses—in what the early records call a "voyd roome" —*i.e.* some empty room of the meeting-house.[1] Richard Scoryer carried on at Wandsworth a very successful school which appears to have done some work in what we now call Normal training. A document issued by the London Morning Meeting and the Meeting for Sufferings in 1697 contains the following interesting paragraph:

> Whereas there may be diverse young men amongst Friends that are already, in some degree, capable of teaching children, if any such come recommended from the Monthly or Quarterly Meetings, Richard Scoryer of Wandsworth, near London, offers freely *to inform and direct such in his method of teaching children*, and take some pains in completing them in writing and arithmetic; they providing for themselves meat, drink, and lodging.[2]

French and Latin were taught in Scoryer's Wandsworth school, and there is plenty of evidence that this and other schools of the Society in its early period were broad and efficient. The London Minutes and Epistles, even from the earliest date, not only breathe a "love of the powerful holy Truth" but they also show a commendable interest in the spread of general education, advising the establishment of schools in the counties, for instruction in languages, science, and literature, asking for voluntary contributions for this end, and appealing for duly qualified teachers.[3]

Great Britain is given in *Five Papers on the Past Proceedings and Experience of the Society of Friends in connection with the Education of Youth*, by Samuel Tuke (York, 1st ed. 1843). The above quotation is from p. 8.

[1] Tuke, *op. cit.* p. 64.

[2] *Journal Friends Hist. Soc.*, vol. vii. p. 46.

[3] See especially Minutes and Epistles for 1706, 1710, 1712, 1717, 1718, 1733, 1736, 1738, 1745, 1766.

William Penn showed a true perception and a breadth of mind in the draft of his plan for a great Public School in Philadelphia, which developed into the now famous "William Penn Charter School." It received its first charter in 1697, and the final plan for the management and scope of the school was set forth in Penn's broad-minded Charter of 1711.

In 1695 John Bellers prepared his "Proposals for Raising a College of Industry of all Useful Trades and Husbandry, with Profit for the Rich, a Plentiful Living for the Poor, and a Good Education for Youth."[1] His "proposals" were taken up by the London Meeting for Sufferings in 1697. An institution along the lines of the Bellers plan was established in Clerkenwell, in the suburbs of London, in 1702, with a double function of a workhouse for the poor and a school for children. Manual labour held a prominent place in this institution, and was over-emphasized to such an extent that the training of the mind of the pupils became subordinate. In 1811 the Clerkenwell institution was transformed into a *bona fide* school under the management of six London Monthly Meetings. In 1825 the School was moved to Croydon, where it attained a position of importance in the educational work of Friends. In 1879 it was moved once more and finally established in the beautiful and commodious buildings at Saffron Walden.[2] The Friends' Schools in Ireland in the early period were very influential centres. The one at Ballitore, taught for three generations by the Shackletons—father, son, and grandson—was perhaps the most famous. It was the shining distinction of this school to have given Edmund Burke his early education. The two brothers, John and James Gough, were also excellent teachers and genuine promoters of education in Ireland from 1737 to 1791. In 1788 Sarah Grubb, daughter of William Tuke of York, established a school for girls at Suir Island, in Clonmel,

[1] For more extensive account of John Bellers see *Second Period*, pp. 571-594.

[2] An interesting historical sketch of the Saffron Walden School was issued in 1902 on the occasion of the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of Clerkenwell.

Ireland, which her husband, Robert Grubb, liberally endowed in his will.

Between the years 1760 and 1780 there were also at least fifteen boarding schools for boys kept by Friends in England, and at least four for girls. It is probable that somewhat over six hundred children attended these schools in a given year.

Friends saw clearly from the beginning of their history that if they were to have no trained clergy, but were to try seriously the great experiment of a priesthood of believers, they must educate the entire membership of the Society. What they did not see clearly enough was the type of education which was necessary for the success of their bold experiment. If they were to have no specially trained Ministers or religious leaders, it was a matter of the utmost importance that there should be provision made so that those Friends who were gifted for it, and who desired an extensive education, might secure it, and fit themselves to help raise the intellectual and spiritual level of the entire body. The creation of Harvard College gave the Congregational Churches an immense advantage, and enabled their leaders to meet the problems of the times in which they were living, and gave them an opportunity to be leaders in the true sense of the word. Friends, being of necessity isolated by their theory of life, and being apart from the main currents of thought, were especially in need of intensive, if not extensive, intellectual training for the membership. Their basic religious conception, however, as time went on, tended to make Friends timid and cautious in reference to learning. Their quietist temper and their limitless faith in the immediate assistance of inward Light made education appear more or less as a "creaturely" achievement and an unnecessary effort. The wiser and saner Friends did not definitely say that or explicitly formulate that conclusion. Nevertheless, while Quietism maintained its sway that general attitude toward education implicitly prevailed and, because of it, the Society suffered privation and incalculable loss. A revival of education toward the

end of the eighteenth century, and a return to the more robust position of the early Friends toward education were gradually inaugurated by a few virile personalities who were awake and forward-looking.

In 1758 the reports from the counties to London Yearly Meeting revealed the fact that after all the years of general interest in education, the provision for the definite education of Friends' children was decidedly inadequate.[1] These reports engaged the solid attention of the members, and for a dozen years or more urgent recommendations were made to Quarterly Meetings in the hope of arousing local Friends to action, but few results followed. At length a man of great constructive power took the matter in hand and pressed for definite action. This man was Dr. John Fothergill. He was born at Carr End in Yorkshire in 1712, and was son of the distinguished Quaker preacher, John Fothergill, who three times visited America on religious "concerns," and he was a brother of the saintly Minister Samuel Fothergill, who was one of the leading Friends in the ministry both at home and abroad. After a careful preparation in Yorkshire schools our John Fothergill studied medicine in Edinburgh University, from which he was graduated in 1736, having been intimately associated in the University with Professor Alexander Munro, the greatest authority of the day in osteology. After two years' training in St. Thomas' Hospital, London, and some time spent in travel and study on the continent, Fothergill began practice in London in 1740 and rose rapidly in fame and success. He was elected Fellow of the Royal Society in 1763, Fellow of the Royal Society of Medicine in Paris in 1776, and he received many other honours.

In 1748 he made a distinct contribution to medicine in his *Account of the Sore-Throat attended with Ulcers*, in which he carefully diagnosed diphtheria and set forth a new and important method of treating that dread disease. His chief scientific interest outside his profession was

[1] There were, as we have seen, a number of boarding schools for Friends, but they were small and did not meet the need of the times.

botany. He built a magnificent botanical garden on his estate at Upton, near Stratford, in Essex, and here he cultivated and studied rare plants from all parts of the world, and gathered a collection that was equalled only by the royal garden at Kew.

He became profoundly interested in the political problems of the American colonies, and as the strained relations with the mother country developed he threw himself heart and soul into the work of reconciliation. He came into the closest intimacy with Benjamin Franklin during Franklin's London period, and he advocated the repeal of the Stamp Act of 1765 in a pamphlet entitled, *Considerations relative to the North American Colonies.* He also took a leading part in introducing to the notice of British savants the discoveries and experiments of Franklin in the field of electricity. After Fothergill's death in 1780 Franklin wrote from Paris concerning his friend: "I can hardly conceive that a better man ever existed." He was a man of large income and noted for his great liberality.[1] Among the many instances of his generosity mention may specially be made of his bestowal of a large part of the financial means for the publication of Anthony Purver's Bible, *A New and Literal Translation of all the Books of the Old and New Testament; with Notes, Critical and Explanatory* (2 vols. folio, 1764).[2]

With all these varied interests the good doctor always found time for the calls for service which came from his religious Society, and he was throughout his busy life relieving suffering, allaying poverty, and promoting the health and comfort of the working people. He belongs to that noble list of Friends who helped to form a new social spirit in the Society of Friends. He was Clerk of London Yearly Meeting in 1749, in 1764, and in 1779. He was a gifted Elder, and thus he belonged in the inner circle of those who shaped the ideals of the Society. His latest biographer has very happily said of him:

[1] His annual income from his practice is thought to have been from £5000 to £6000 ($25,000 to $30,000).

[2] This translation was, for the time when it appeared, a striking piece of Quaker scholarship.

The strength of Fothergill and his success in all his work were the outcome of a habit of mind which referred all things to a higher Power. For indeed, beyond the lines of influence which have been spoken of, there is the force of character itself, something that belongs to the ego, that eludes analysis it may be, yet is most potent, made in the likeness of the Divine. The man is greater than his work.[1]

In 1777 the Yearly Meeting of London made an urgent recommendation that a new positive forward step should be taken for the education of Friends not in affluent circumstances. Dr. John Fothergill was a member of the committee appointed to give practical direction to the growing determination that the Society should provide more adequately for the education of the rank and file of its membership.[2] Sometime during that year Dr. Fothergill was in Yorkshire and heard a casual mention made of the proposed sale of the buildings at Ackworth which had been erected as a hospital for foundling children. Being accustomed to *act*, Dr. Fothergill took the matter up at once, consulted the Meeting for Sufferings, secured guarantee pledges, he himself and his friend David Barclay taking the heavy share, and had a contract made in the autumn of 1777 for the purchase of the extensive grounds and buildings at Ackworth.[3] Members of the Society liberally subscribed for the preparation of the institution, and for its maintenance. The government of the school was vested in the Yearly Meeting which deputed the administration to a "General Meeting," consisting of representatives from the Quarterly Meetings. The famous school was opened to pupils of both sexes on the 18th of October 1779. This was a period of "rules." The boys and girls were

[1] Dr. R. Hingston Fox, *Dr. John Fothergill and his Friends* (London, 1919), p. 391.

[2] The minute of the Y.M. for 1777 was as follows: "It being the judgment of this Yearly Meeting that encouragement for Boarding Schools suitable for the education of children whose parents are not in affluence will be advantageous, the consideration of a plan proper to this purpose is referred to the Meeting for Sufferings, to be laid before the Meeting next year, to which Friends in the country are desired to give their attention and assistance."

[3] The property was purchased for £7000. Dr. Fothergill has given his own account of the founding of Ackworth School in *A Letter to a Friend in the Country, relative to the Intended School at Ackworth* (London, 1778).

over-governed, and the problems of discipline in the early days were very great; but this creative step in boarding-school education on a large scale was an event of first importance, and can hardly be over-estimated for its constructive influence on the Society of Friends during the next hundred years.

An interesting experiment for the education of girls was begun in the city of York in 1784. Esther Tuke, the queenly wife of William Tuke, founder of the Retreat, was the inspiration of the undertaking. Nine women Friends became the shareholders of the property, and Esther Tuke volunteered to be superintendent, serving, as a number of the teachers did, without pay. The fees were fixed at fourteen guineas a year of fifty-two weeks, for "learning, board, and washing." The girls in this "Tower Street School" had the distinction of having "a native of France" to teach them the French language. The primary aims of this high grade school for girls were "the religious improvement of the minds of youth, and the training of them in true simplicity of manners."[1] It was for these favoured girls that Thomas Wilkinson, Wordsworth's friend, wrote his poem, "Affectionate Address to those who compose Tower Street School at York." Much more important, however, was another composition written primarily for this York Girls' School. That was Lindley Murray's Grammar.

Lindley Murray, who belongs among the leading Quaker educators, though he did not actually teach, was born in Pennsylvania in 1745. He had a short period of school in New York City, whither the family moved in his childhood, and he was launched into business at twelve. He was "otherwise minded" and "wished to be anything rather than a merchant." After many baffling experiences he was allowed to study law, and was called to the New York bar in 1766. He was very successful and accumulated considerable property. He was always delicate in health, and in 1784 his physical condition became so serious that he went to England hoping that a change of

[1] *Five Papers*, p. 87.

climate might be beneficial. He settled at Holdgate, near York, and passed the remainder of his life there. He wrote in 1787 his *Power of Religion on the Mind*, which had an enormous circulation, and appealed powerfully to the generations that were brought up on Young's *Night Thoughts*. To the good man passing his invalid days in leisure and in kindly deeds the teachers of the Tower Street School came with the earnest request that he would write a Grammar for them to use. He replied that he "could not refuse any request they might think proper to make," and so the famous *English Grammar* was written. It was first published in 1795, and went through forty-nine editions. In 1797 Lindley Murray published *An Abridgment* of this version which went through one hundred and twenty-one editions before 1833. It was translated into many languages, and was printed in Boston in embossed letters for the blind.

The amazing success of the Grammar led Lindley Murray to undertake the publication of many other school books—*English Exercises*, *The English Reader*, *An English Spelling Book*, *A Key to the Exercises*, all of which had immense sales. His *First Book for Children* enjoyed a great popularity.[1] He came to be known as "the father of English Grammar." His books brought him very large financial returns, which he gave to promote education and philanthropy. By his will he bequeathed a sum of money to be used in America for the distribution of religious literature. It is still administered by trustees in New York, and is called "the Murray Fund."[2]

Hardly less important than the founding of Ackworth, at least for its future influence on the membership of the

[1] The demand for his works was so great that the types for nearly all of them were kept standing for frequent reprints. Many of the editions were for ten thousand copies, and some were even greater. See *Memoirs of Lindley Murray*, pp. 262, 263. The data for Lindley Murray's life and work are his *Memoirs* written by himself and edited by Elizabeth Frank (York, 1826); Lydia Rous, *Historical Sketch of York School*, and Anne Ogden Boyce, *Records of a Quaker Family*.

[2] Another American Quaker became famous as a Grammarian, Goold Brown (born in Providence in 1791; died in Lynn in 1857). He was a teacher in the Nine Partners School, and published *Institutes of English Grammar* in 1823, *First Lines of English Grammar* in 1823, and a *Grammar of Grammars* in 1851.

Society of Friends in England, was the establishment in 1808 of a second boarding-school for boys and girls, Sidcot School in Somerset. This public school was not the first attempt to create a Quaker school in Somerset; it was only the expansion of more feeble beginnings in education. James Logan, of Pennsylvania fame, one of the best scholars in the early Society, had taught for four years in a Friends' school in Bristol before he answered William Penn's summons to go to America. A Yearly Meeting for the western counties, in its Epistle of 1695, had urged Friends to provide schools and schoolmasters for their children that they may bring them up in "ye feare of ye Lord, and love of His truth"—"that so from ye oldest to ye youngest truth may show it selfe in its Beauty and Comlyness to God's Glory and all his people's Comfort."[1]

Similar advice in behalf of education continued to come from Quarterly and other Meetings, and more or less successful experiments were tried, notably William Jenkins' school at Sidcot, and later John Bennett's school, which had the distinction, in 1805, of teaching Jonathan Dymond, the Essayist, and Joseph Sturge, the Philanthropist. Three years later the larger venture was made, under the care of a committee of thirty-four Friends, representing Bristol and Somerset Quarterly Meeting and other meetings in the "west country." The school began its career under the superintendency of John Bennett, the teacher of the earlier school, and though small at first it soon grew in numbers and in importance. There was from an early period in the eighteenth century an important Friends' school at Tottenham, taught for many years by Josiah Forster, father of William and Josiah Forster, the anti-slavery leaders. Some of the most prominent leaders and Ministers of the Society received their early education at the Tottenham School. It was succeeded in 1828 by the Grove House School, which also had an interesting history, and gave many Friends their school education.[2] Sir E. B. Tylor, the

[1] F. A. Knight's *A History of Sidcot School* (London, 1908), p. 7.
[2] See Theodore Compton's *Recollections of Tottenham* (London, 1893).

noted ethnologist, Daniel Hack Tuke, Lord Lister, William Edward Forster, and Dr. Thomas Hodgkin were attenders of Grove House School.

A unique and significant experiment in popular education was undertaken at the opening of the nineteenth century by Joseph Lancaster (1778–1838). He was born in Southwark, London, the son of a pensioner who had fought against the American colonies, and grew up without any nurture or culture such as is supposed to be necessary for the preparation of a successful teacher. He had, however, an extraordinary bent and native genius for teaching. Very early in life he experienced a profound religious upheaval of the type which prevailed in the revivals of the time. Under the spell of this experience young Lancaster was impressed with the feeling that he should prepare himself for the ministry. Lighting upon Clarkson's *Essay on Slavery*, he was fired with a passion to go to Jamaica to assist the suffering blacks there. He ran away from home and walked all the way to Bristol, hoping that God would open a way for him, then a fourteen-year-old boy, to perform this missionary service. He had no money to cover the expenses of such a journey, in fact he was penniless, and in his dire economic straits, by a sudden and unexpected swing of decision, so characteristic of his temperament, he volunteered in the British Navy, a career which at this period was hardly a step toward the ministry. By a chain of unusual circumstances he secured a release from his obligation as a volunteer, preached an extraordinary sermon to the naval crew, and soon after his release had been effected he became convinced of the truth as held by Friends and joined their Society. The strong interest in education which prevailed at this time in the Quaker circles in which Lancaster mingled awakened in him his dormant capacities, his slumbering powers. He resolved, with no capital except enthusiasm, to launch out on a bold experiment of education. In 1801 he took a large room in the Borough Road, London, and opened a school, promising to educate all children who wished to come to

him freely, if they were too poor to pay for the tuition, or for a small fee where the parents had the means for it. Not having any source of income from which to pay assistants, Lancaster hit upon the plan of employing older pupils to teach the younger ones. This system of pupil instructors, guided by Lancaster's native aptitude for teaching and gift for winning the confidence and affection of the children, succeeded even beyond the enthusiast's expectations. The children came in "like flocks of sheep," and in a few years Lancaster had no less than a thousand pupils under his care. They were divided into classes, each under a monitor, supervised by a head monitor, with rank and discipline in some degree like that prevailing in the military system. The range of education was naturally very limited, and the type of moral discipline was crude, but nevertheless the boys improved mentally and morally under this monitor system, and Lancaster kindled real ambition in the souls of many of his lads.

Meantime Lancaster travelled widely over the country, lecturing on education, while at the same time he aroused public attention by the publication of important pamphlets on his favourite subject. He became quite "a lion" in this early stage of success and enthusiasm. Multitudes came to see his experiment. Foreign dignitaries and domestic celebrities honoured him with their interest and attention. The king and queen took him up, commanded him to pay his sovereigns a visit, and personally subscribed toward the support of the school. "How can you keep them in order?" George III. asked his visitor. "Please, thy Majesty," Lancaster replied, "by the same principle thy Majesty's army is kept in order—by the word of command." The old king understood that and approved. He gave Lancaster for his motto the royal words: "It is my wish that every poor child in my dominions should be taught to read the Bible."

With all his help from the king and from famous patrons, including the Duke of Bedford and Lord Somerville, Lancaster still could not make his affairs

succeed financially. Though his school prospered and his fame increased, he became hopelessly embarrassed through utter lack of business habits. In his desperate crisis Friends and others came to the rescue of the improvident educator. Dr. Joseph Fox, William Allen of Spitalfields, William Corston, John Jackson, M.P., Joseph Foster, and Thomas Sturge helped to save the bankrupt teacher, who owed not less than four thousand pounds. They paid his debts and formed "The Royal Lancasterian Society for Promoting the Education of the Children of the Poor," which undertook the oversight of Lancaster's educational ventures. This Society developed into "The British and Foreign School Society," which had a distinguished career and a far-reaching influence. Unfortunately no expedients could permanently relieve Lancaster from financial troubles. He caused faithful, sympathetic William Allen many hard labours and heavy outlays of money, but no sooner was one crisis passed than another began speedily to develop. Lancaster engaged in many controversies with rivals, critics, and opponents, and he chafed under the restraints which his committee endeavoured to impose upon him for his own welfare. With all the essential limitations, however, of his scheme, the defects of his character, the difficulties of his temperament, Joseph Lancaster rendered a memorable service to education, and his name holds an important place in the list of public benefactors.

One of Joseph Lancaster's important helpers was Thomas Pole, M.D. (born in Philadelphia 1753, died in Bristol, England, 1829), a distinguished surgeon and Quaker philanthropist, and at the same time a devoted Minister.[1] He settled in Bristol in 1802, where he took a prominent part in the promotion of the first Adult School in the history of this interesting movement, which began in 1810. In 1813 Dr. Pole issued an Address to the Bristol Adult School Society, and the same year Friends of Bristol granted the use of a large room at

[1] His life has been written by E. T. Wedmore as a Supplement to the *Journal of Friends Historical Society*, 1908.

"the Friars" for a school for women. Within two years' time the Bristol Schools had grown to over fifteen hundred men and women. In 1814 Dr. Pole wrote *A History of the Origin and Progress of Adult Schools*. This good man belongs in the list of those who have lived to help their fellowmen. His system spread to other parts of the country, reaching London, the eastern counties, the Midlands, Yorkshire and Lancashire. In Ireland in 1830 there were 400 schools with 15,000 scholars. Unfortunately the rules provided that the scholars should leave as soon as they had learned to read the Bible, and there were other limitations which hampered the movement. It was, however, the precursor of the later Adult School movement, which will be noticed in another chapter. It is estimated that these early schools helped a quarter of a million persons to read, prior to 1849.

In America the foremost patron of education in the Society of Friends was the broad-minded philanthropist, Moses Brown of Providence, Rhode Island. He was born of a distinguished family in 1738. He did not become a member of the Society of Friends until 1774, though he had long been moving in that direction. He manumitted his ten slaves, under a religious "concern," in 1773, and made provision for their future care. From that time he was an ardent abolitionist and true friend to the coloured race. He and five other Friends presented a petition to the Rhode Island legislature in 1783, urging the enactment of a law for "the entire abolition of slavery." As a result of this "memorial" a Bill was introduced and eventually passed, largely through the labours of Moses Brown and other Friends, providing that no person born in the state of Rhode Island "on or after the first day of March 1784 shall be deemed or considered as servant for life, or slave."

It was at Moses Brown's suggestion and through his financial risk and backing that Samuel Slater, "the father of American manufactures," came to Providence to make his experiment and there tried out and perfected the

Arkwright invention for spinning cotton.[1] Moses Brown was one of the founders of the Providence Athenaeum Library; of the Rhode Island Peace Society; of the Rhode Island Bible Society, and of the Rhode Island Historical Society. He was deeply interested in the founding of Rhode Island College, which became in time Brown University, and it was primarily due to Moses Brown that the University was located in the city of Providence. He was a member of the committee of three appointed in 1767 to draw up a plan for the organization of free schools in Providence.

In 1777, an epoch-making year for Quaker education, he was appointed by New England Yearly Meeting on a committee to perfect a plan to provide for the education of the children of that Yearly Meeting. In 1782 the Meeting for Sufferings in New England issued an important document on education, prepared by the above committee and written by Moses Brown. He visited the other educational leaders in the Society in America and carried on an extensive correspondence with them, while the plans were maturing for the creation in New England of a school for boys and girls, like the English Ackworth. The first realization of this ambitious plan was made at Portsmouth, Rhode Island, where a school was opened in 1784. This was the first serious attempt made by the Society of Friends in America to establish a boarding-school for boys and girls. It was, however, not supplied with sufficient funds to make its career a permanent success, and in 1788 it came to a temporary close, to be revived again on a greater scale in Providence.

Meantime the educational leaders in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting were planning great things. The Epistle of London Yearly Meeting for 1779, signed by John Fothergill as clerk, contained an impressive passage on education, and commended the right training of our "beloved youth" for lives of "piety and virtue," and in order that they "may be qualified to fill with propriety

[1] For details, see the valuable monograph on *Moses Brown* by Augustine Jones (Providence, 1892).

and Christian dignity the various stations in the Church in their generation." Soon after this time Moses Brown visited Owen Biddle of Philadelphia, who became the leading spirit in the movement for the establishment of a boarding-school for Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. George Dillwyn, a man of large vision, who was at this time on a religious visit in England and who had been aroused by what he had seen at Ackworth, wrote to a prominent Friend at home urging the opening of a similar school for Philadelphia Friends. John Dickinson, who had been throughout the critical years of colonial opposition to the policy of the mother country one of the guiding figures, now became a vigorous advocate of the boarding-school project. He had been, during the public controversies with Great Britain, one of the foremost popular writers in the colonies, the author not only of the "Letters of a Farmer," but the writer as well of some of the most famous "State papers" of the period. He was throughout his mature life almost continuously in prominent public positions and offices, and he was one of the makers and early exponents of the Constitution of the United States. He had in 1783 been one of the founders of Dickinson College, which he liberally endowed, and he now made the first large contribution toward the building of the proposed boarding-school for Friends.

In 1790 Owen Biddle issued a pamphlet of fifty-two pages, setting forth an ambitious plan for a school similar to that at Ackworth, and proposing that a tract of land of one thousand acres should be purchased in a healthy location for this purpose. After much study of possible situations a tract of six hundred acres, lying across the course of Chester Creek, Pennsylvania, was taken for the school, for which $16,222.22 was paid. Here on this "Westtown tract" the famous school was built, and opened for boys and girls the sixth of Fifth Month 1799, one of the most important events in the history of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

Before the Westtown School was made an accomplished fact, New York Friends had succeeded in launching a

similar experiment, which indicates the existence of a deep-lying aspiration for wider educational opportunities throughout the entire Society of Friends. The New York experiment was put into actual operation in 1796, and followed in the main the lines already sketched out by Dr. Fothergill, Moses Brown, and Owen Biddle. As early as 1781 New York Yearly Meeting was "seriously concerned" to make provision for the proper instruction of its youth, and for this purpose proceeded to create a "public school" in the city of New York, but the new undertaking in 1796 took on wider scope. This was the creation of a boarding-school for young Friends from all parts of the Yearly Meeting. It was established at Washington, in Dutchess County, New York, and was called Nine Partners Boarding School, from the name of the Quarterly Meeting in which it was located. It began with an endowment of about $10,000. It was, like the other Friends' schools of the period, for both boys and girls, though for some years the separation of the two sexes in all these schools was so complete that each school amounted practically to two schools, carried on in a double compartment building. It was, furthermore, the practice in the primitive days of these Quaker boarding-schools to conduct an all-year programme, uninterrupted by vacations. The pupil who entered Ackworth, or Westtown, or Nine Partners said a long farewell to home, parents and friends, and settled down to the serious, unbroken business of getting an education. After a useful service of half a century this school was merged into a new institution, in western New York, located at Union Springs in Cayuga County and named Oakwood Seminary.

Moses Brown had never given up his dream of a great school in New England. He had been treasurer of the Portsmouth School fund, which he carefully invested until it grew to be $9300. In 1814 he offered to donate forty-three acres of his Providence farm as the site and grounds for a boarding-school for boys and girls, stipulating that "females should have equal advantages with

males."[1] Subscriptions were freely made by Friends to supplement the educational fund, and the imposing central building was erected on the magnificent hill-top overlooking Narragansett Bay. Here, 1st of January 1819, the New England Boarding School, since named Moses Brown School, began its important career of service. In 1822 Obadiah Brown, the only son of Moses Brown, died and bequeathed one hundred thousand dollars to the school, which at that time was the largest bequest in one sum that had ever been given to a school or college in America.[2]

Like the schools at Ackworth and Westtown, the New England Boarding School in its early period maintained a system of "guarded" education. The dress and speech of Friends were required of all pupils. Those who attended were expected to observe strictly everything that befitted "plainness and simplicity in walk and conversation." They were not only shut in away from the world and its contaminations, but they were impressed and stamped, in a positive way, with the marks and peculiarities of Quakerism. All these Quaker schools in their formative period laid excessive stress on "rules." There were rules to secure cleanliness, punctuality, decorum, integrity, and kindness. There were rules to ensure truth-telling, propriety of language, honesty, and becoming behaviour in religious assemblies. All offences and deviations were met with artificial penalties, while conformity of conduct was rewarded with an octavo Bible, having the good boy's or girl's name printed on it in gold letters. This system of government by a detailed code of laws never proved a success. "Not so is Leviathan tamed," is the comment of a wise Friend who knew human nature.[3] Fortunately, Friends gradually learned wisdom from their experiments with "Leviathan," and they were among the first educators to discover that

[1] Quoted from a "Paper on the History of Education" by Samuel Austin, preserved in MS. in the vault of Moses Brown School, Providence, R.I.

[2] On the occasion of the centennial anniversary of this institution *A History of Moses Brown School* was issued, written by Dr. Rayner W. Kelsey.

[3] *Five Papers*, p. 166.

boys and girls are best "governed" by those who exhibit an understanding mind, a sympathetic heart, an attitude of trust and confidence, a spirit of genuine human love, and who can successfully use the appeal and spur of awakened intellectual interest. The type of teaching which these institutions gave was excellent for the times. The "fundamentals"—reading, writing, spelling, mastery of English grammar, and mathematics—were taught with extreme care and fidelity. The range was perhaps narrow, but what the school did do, it did well. The founders and early Quaker teachers were not preparing their pupils for college; they were preparing them for life, and they were resolved to have the work honestly done. The culture was somewhat plain and severe, but after all it was genuine *culture*. It formed and beautified character, and it fitted well for life and service. The recipients of it did not know a vast number of things, but they knew a few essential things almost perfectly, and they learned to love the things that are excellent.

The boys and girls were no doubt somewhat overloaded with Quaker history and biography, but while this type of reading supplied little that was beautiful in form and style, it nevertheless gave the groups of youth a deep and abiding sense of the value of simplicity, sincerity, purity, fidelity, devotion to duty, and obedience to the will of God. It was an education which tended to produce not, indeed, geniuses and leaders, but modest, trustworthy, dependable men and women who would endeavour to preserve and transmit "the heritage of the Society," which was unmistakably the central ideal in the minds of the founders. Many other schools, some of them destined to achieve marked distinction both within and beyond the Society of Friends, were established in rapid succession in England and America. It would obviously be impossible to give a detailed account of these several institutions, each one of which has filled a larger or smaller sphere in the extensive educational work of the Society of Friends. I shall give at the end of this chapter a list as complete as possible of the

Friends' schools and colleges founded and maintained during the nineteenth century. It would be difficult to over-emphasize the influence which these early Quaker boarding-schools exerted upon the life and spiritual development of the Society in the sections of country where they were situated. They had a marked effect upon the ministry of public Friends, and they proved to be nurseries for the training of leaders of thought and action. Hardly less important was the establishment of local Quaker schools and academies in the pioneer regions to which Friends were migrating throughout the first half of the century. In many places the Quaker schools were the first institutions in which the children of the new settlement had an opportunity to acquire an education. These early "log-cabin schools" were simple and primitive, but they furnished the best light and leading which could be found in the little forest or prairie communities, and here in the school, which quickly followed the meeting-house, was often laid the foundation of the public school system of the State. Quaker methods and ideals were thus built into the early educational structure of the States of Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Tennessee, and some of the far-western States.

One of the really great events in the history of English Quaker education was the founding of Bootham School for Boys in 1829, and of the Mount School for Girls in 1831, both in the city of York, England, and both growing out of schools of an earlier foundation.[1] This was a critical period for Friends in England and America. The "separation" in the latter country, and the narrowness and lethargy among many Friends in both countries, appeared ominous signs and symptoms to the wiser minds in the Society. It seemed clear that there was little hope of a spiritual succession unless a more solid foundation were laid for the future. Samuel Tuke was the father of the idea which had long been ripening, though many other Friends joined in bringing it into practical effect.

[1] The Boys' School was originally established as a private enterprise in 1823, on property belonging to Yorkshire Q.M.

York for a long time had been a centre of enlightenment. It had a large group of "seasoned" and intelligent leaders who were forward-looking in thought and outlook. They were determined to create a type of school which would give Quaker boys as fair an opportunity to prepare for life as other English boys had in the great public schools. At the same time they saw the importance of giving their girls an education in every way equal to that which the boys were to receive. Joseph Rowntree (1801–1859), one of the great Quaker merchants in the north of England, a constructive leader in the affairs of the Society, and a Friend of great public spirit, was deeply interested in education, and he, with Samuel Tuke, took a prominent part in the establishment of both Bootham and the Mount Schools, called at first the Boys' and Girls' Schools, at York. Joseph Rowntree was for many years an important member of the Ackworth School Committee. In 1829 he took a leading part in the investigation of the condition of education among persons connected with the Society of Friends but not in membership with it. The facts elicited by this investigation led to the establishment of Rawdon School. In this early period the doors of the two great English universities were closed to Friends. Higher education for women was not yet conceived as possible, and at this stage both these York schools aimed to offer to young Friends a first-rate preparation for life and for business. At a later time, when the university doors were opened to Friends of both sexes, these schools were ready to prepare Friends for further study in the Universities, and they took their place among the best secondary schools in England. Both Bootham and the Mount School have had a remarkable succession of influential Head Masters and Head Mistresses. John Ford and Fielden Thorp, Hannah Brady, Lydia Rous, and Lucy Harrison are names which stand out in the distinguished list of educators at York.

Friends in New York City have the credit of taking the lead in the establishment of the first unsectarian public schools in that city. In 1798 a few women

members of the Society organized an Association for the relief of the sick poor in the city, one condition of the Association being that no members of the Society of Friends should receive any relief. In June 1801 the Association opened a public school for the education of the poor children of New York, "who belong to no religious society," and who "cannot be admitted to any of the charity schools of the city." At a later period the city adopted these schools, appropriated public money for their support, and made large use of the women Friends of the Association in the management of the free schools growing out of the early venture. The Public School Society, which became the parent of the New York City free school system, was first suggested by Friends. Thomas Eddy and John Murray called a meeting at John Murray's house in 1805, which was attended by twelve prominent citizens, four of whom were Friends. The Public School Society emerged from this gathering, and for many years contained a good proportion of Friends in its membership.[1]

John Griscom (1774–1852) stands out as the foremost teacher among American Friends in the period before the founding of Haverford College, which was an event of the first importance in the history of Quaker education. He was born of excellent Quaker stock, in Salem County, New Jersey. He began teaching when he was seventeen, and revealed at once unusual gifts. He steadily educated himself while he was teaching others, and by the opening of the nineteenth century he had become one of the leading authorities in chemistry in America. His first important school, where he laid the foundations of his successful career, was the school owned and managed by Burlington Monthly Meeting, then one of the greatest Quaker centres in the country. He soon became one of the local intellectual leaders, not only in the Society of Friends, but in the wider society of the town as well. In 1807 he accepted a call to become the head of a

[1] W. H. S. Wood's *Friends in the City of New York* (New York, 1904), pp. 29-31. John Murray was a brother of Lindley Murray.

school in New York City, where he was promised a salary of $2250, which was larger than that known to be paid up to that time to any other teacher in America. He rapidly became famous in the city, not only as a successful teacher, but also as a lecturer in chemistry. Through the help of William Allen, of Spitalfields, London, and the generosity of New York citizens of wealth, he fitted up the best and most extensive chemical laboratory in the city. He was soon made a member of the medical faculty of Queen's College, New Brunswick, New Jersey, of the New York Historical Society, and professor of chemistry in Columbia University. He was one of the founders of the New York Literary and Philosophical Society.

When he was at the height of his intellectual fame in New York he went abroad for foreign travel and to make the acquaintance of European scholars. He was everywhere received with distinction, and had the pleasure of personal intercourse with many of the most famous men and women in Great Britain and on the continent. The profoundest influence, however, was made upon him by members of his own Society—William Allen and Elizabeth Fry. He published an account of his journey, in two octavo volumes of 500 pages each, which sold in sufficient numbers to cover all the expenses of his travels. As a result of the great awakening produced by the foreign tour his life and his activities widened out in many directions. He now became the moving spirit in the great philanthropic reforms of New York City. It was under his leadership that the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism was founded, and he wrote the early epoch-making reports of this Society which first enunciated in this country the modern principles of Charity and Correction. He also originated a new type of City Hall School, somewhat on the lines of Joseph Lancaster's monitorial system. This school opened in 1825 under his leadership with 250 scholars. The attendance soon rose to 650, and Griscom became generally recognized as a teacher of marked originality

and genius. He was, through all these years of public success, a devoted member of the Society of Friends, plain in garb and speech, and a diligent attender of meetings for worship and business.

In 1833 John Griscom was called to Providence, Rhode Island, and made Principal of the Friends' New England Boarding School there, at a salary of $1500 and the living of himself and family, which was then considered a princely reward for a teacher. He quickly revealed his rare gifts as an educator and took a prominent part in the scientific and intellectual life of the city of Providence. If his term of service could have been extended—it lasted only about two years—the institution would almost certainly have been raised to a new level of influence in this early stage of its history. In 1835 John Griscom moved to Haverford, Pennsylvania, where two sons-in-law of his were engaged in teaching, and he lived there for a period of years most happily in the academic atmosphere of the new institution, to which he himself also contributed in no small degree.

One gets from a letter of John Griscom's a somewhat startling exhibition of the way in which breadth of learning and narrowness of religious prejudice and tradition can exist in the same mind. He was invited on a certain occasion to attend a lecture on Shakespeare. The invitation called forth the following letter, which expresses the view that then everywhere prevailed in Quaker circles, however educated and enlightened:

> J. Griscom returns his sincere thanks for the kindness which prompted the invitation to attend a lecture at . . . Hall, "upon Shakespeare." In the spirit of reciprocated comity he would beg leave to remark, that if the lecture is to be given for the purpose of demonstrating that the morals of mankind would be benefited by an entire extermination of the writings of the great British dramatist, he would be more inclined to attend it. That there are many noble thoughts, many humane sentiments, many profound and correct exhibitions of human nature, which may be culled, as the bee gathers sweets from poisonous plants, from these writings, he would not deny. But, that, taken in their totality, they demoralize society to a great extent, is an opinion,

whether right or wrong, he has long entertained. As mere literature, they would do less harm; but even thus limited, he believes, if *generally read*, they would never aid a single soul onward towards the kingdom of Heaven. On the contrary, by their numerous exhibitions of vulgarity and vice unrebuked, they pander to the lower appetites, and thus obstruct the paths of innocence and virtue. It is, however, as the most dignified and powerful supporter of public dramatical exhibitions that Shakespeare is to be regarded as a prince of mischief. The most charitable opinion that a religious man can entertain of the theatre, as it actually exists and must ever exist, is, that like the volcano which emits lava and destruction, it is a needful safety valve for the forms of vice. With this ancient opinion J. G. has not been able to unite; and take it altogether, he regards the drama, in its public displays, as among the most powerful engines of the Prince of Darkness, in alluring men and women of cultivated intellect into his folds. Did persons of respectability *shun* the theatre, it would stand forth in its naked deformity, and publicly be far less injurious to the interests of Christian morality. J. G. craves the indulgence of all concerned in the expression of these opinions.[1]

A great forward step in education was taken by American Friends in 1833 in the founding of Haverford School which later became Haverford College. This epoch-making step was indirectly due to the schism of 1827–1828, which clearly revealed to thoughtful minds the intellectual weakness of the body. The existing condition was ably presented in a series of articles signed "Ascham," which appeared in 1830 in *The Friend*, which was also a by-product of the separation. This anonymous writer says:

I wish to enable my readers to consider the state of education amongst us in connection with the sentiment of writers whose authority is now almost universally received. I do not hesitate to express my conviction, that when the plans of instruction which now obtain among Friends are submitted to this test, and their results compared with the progress of society, the achievements of science, and the increased influence of letters, *we shall be found to have made no advance in any wise commensurate with the advantages we have enjoyed, or with the responsibility which our standing in the community imposes upon us.*[2]

[1] *Memoirs of John Griscom, LL.D.* (New York, 1859) pp. 45, 46.
[2] *The Friend* (Phila.), vol. iii. p. 169. There were five articles by this writer.

These "Ascham" articles indicate a rare breadth of mind, and a clear insight into the situation within the Society. The writer had read widely and had solidly reflected. He summoned Friends to make a bold advance—"an enlarged liberal system of instruction in the Society of Friends" These searching articles by "Ascham" were almost immediately followed by another series of penetrating communications, signed "H. G." This writer dwelt upon the fact that "the brightest ornaments" of the Society were men who had received a liberal education, which, "under the sanctifying power of divine Grace," contributed to enlarge the sphere of their usefulness. In a second article "H. G." declares that "the wants of our religious Society do imperiously require the establishment of a school for teaching young men and boys the higher branches of learning."[1] The writer further points out that many young Friends are studying at the "colleges of other religious societies," and that the time has come for them to have a higher institution of learning under Quaker influences. Small groups of Friends met almost simultaneously in Philadelphia and in New York City, in the spring of 1830, to consider "the propriety of establishing a central institution for the instruction of the children of Friends *in the advanced branches of learning*."[2] Gradually through the patient and broad-minded work of a small band of concerned Friends the plans took shape and moved on toward realization. Somewhat over forty thousand dollars was subscribed to the foundation fund, and after many conferences on the perplexing matter, the location of the school was fixed at Haverford, ten miles west of Philadelphia. The present site of the college, originally one hundred and ninety-eight acres—later increased to about two hundred and twenty—was bought for $17,865. The grounds were admirably laid out by an excellent English landscape gardener, a beautiful colonial building—"Founders' Hall"—was erected, and

[1] *The Friend* (Phila.), vol. iii. pp. 303 and 377.
[2] *A History of Haverford College for the first Sixty Years* (Phila., 1892), p. 60.

here in the autumn of 1833, with twenty-one students in attendance, the great venture for Quaker "advanced learning" was launched.

The first teachers, who were to create the type of the new-born institution, were men of marked distinction. Daniel B. Smith, the first Principal, was a creative Quaker leader of the period. He was forty-one years old when the school opened, and had received his early education from the famous Quaker teacher, John Griscom. He was a practical chemist, a lover of science, a member of the Academy of Natural Sciences, the American Philosophical Society, and the Franklin Institute. He was well taught in philosophy and an excellent ethical and religious guide. Wider still was the scholarship of John Gummere, the first teacher of mathematics. Since 1814 he had been the head master of a remarkable school in Burlington, New Jersey. He ranked among the foremost mathematicians of his time. He had been offered the chair of mathematics at the University of Pennsylvania. He had received the degree of Master of Arts from Princeton. He was one of the most distinguished members of the American Philosophical Society. He was the author of two famous books, *Theoretical and Practical Astronomy* and *Treatise on Surveying*, the latter of which has reached its twenty-second edition. He was, too, according to the testimony of those who knew him, a beautiful character, an attractive person, a rare man for any period. His sons, Samuel J. and William Gummere, were also members of the first staff, the former becoming in time a well-beloved President of Haverford College (1863–1874), while his son, Francis B. Gummere, in turn, was to become one of the foremost American scholars, and one of the most distinguished professors in the history of the institution.[1] Another prominent scholar in this first group of teachers was Dr. Joseph Thomas, who became famous as the author of a standard *Biographical Dictionary* and *A Pronouncing Gazetteer of the World.*

Owing to financial difficulties, of a sort which would

[1] Professor from 1887 to 1919, when he died.

now seem very easily surmountable, the school was closed from 1845 to 1848. Meantime the charter was changed so as to admit to the School not only Friends, but persons in sympathy with Friends' principles.[1] A new fund of fifty thousand dollars was raised, more than one-quarter of which George Howland of New England Yearly Meeting generously contributed. The school, which from its beginning had been of high grade, became a college both in fact and name, with charter right to grant degrees, in the year 1856. Thomas Chase, a classical scholar of distinction, became professor at this time. He was made president of the college in 1874, and he exerted a marked influence upon the standards of the college and upon the scholarly ideals of his students. His brother, Pliny Earle Chase, professor from 1871 to 1886, was a man of extraordinary qualities. His learning was of wide range and variety, fabulously reported by his students to be universal and without limit. His character was of unusual beauty, his life was radiant, his preaching, backed by the saintly quality of his spirit, was unique. Students who felt the spell and charm of this wonderful man still think and speak of him with a kind of awe, and the memory of him rests like a halo on the Haverford of his time. During the period of Isaac Sharpless' presidency (1887–1917) the college has received an immense expansion in every direction. A munificent bequest, made by Jacob P. Jones, put the college in 1897 upon a secure financial foundation. Large additions have since been made, bringing the endowment of the college to more than three million dollars. The buildings have increased in like proportion. The standards of scholarship and the spiritual ideals have grown with the progress in external matters. The institution is a genuine product of Quakerism, and it has been in all periods a faithful interpreter of the Quaker spirit. Isaac Sharpless, to whom the enlarged and expanded Haverford College is in large measure due, may properly be mentioned as one

[1] The memorial to the legislature declared that the restriction to members of the Society of Friends had proved "inconvenient and injurious."

of the most influential leaders in the educational work of Friends either in England or America.[1]

Four years after the founding of Haverford College, Friends in North Carolina, actuated by the same spirit of loyalty to truth, succeeded in opening a very important educational institution in New Garden, known in its school period (1837–1888) as "New Garden Boarding School." This school was incorporated the same year that Haverford School was begun, though it was not opened for pupils until 1837, when twenty-five boys and twenty-five girls came from their Quaker homes to study in the new institution. Jeremiah Hubbard was one of the leading spirits in this forward movement for education. When the plans were inaugurated for New Garden School there was not a single school in existence in the Yearly Meeting under the official care of Friends, though Belvidere Academy was established by Eastern Quarterly Meeting in 1835.[2] Dougan and Asenath Clark, the latter a daughter of the Quaker preacher Nathan Hunt, were the first superintendents of New Garden School. At the very first only Friends were received as pupils, but that limitation was soon removed and others availed themselves of the excellent advantages of the school. The school was not endowed and had a long and painful struggle with lack of funds and actual debts. The name of Dr. Nereus Mendenhall, a man of large intellectual and moral powers, is intimately bound up with the history of this school. He was Principal of New Garden School in the critical period just before the Civil War began. Many Friends had already left the State, and many more were leaving in haste, with their lands unsold, as they saw war was inevitable. At this time Dr. Mendenhall had all his goods packed and at the railroad station, his family ready to follow in a day, when, as his daughter describes it,

> The word of the Lord came to him, distinctly bidding him remain and stand by the school, come what would. The

[1] Isaac Sharpless' death occurred in 1920.

[2] See Weeks' *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, pp. 300, 301.

prospects in the west were flattering from a worldly standpoint, but true to his convictions of duty he remained, and with Jonathan E. Cox kept the school open through all the war, thus affording a shelter for many young men during those perilous times, and being the means, in the Divine hand, of assisting many who were conscripted to escape through the lines.[1]

At the close of the Civil War it seemed at first likely that all Friends in North Carolina would migrate to the West. Great numbers did leave the State between 1866 and 1872, under the leadership and guidance of Addison Coffin.[2] This migration was eventually checked, Quakerism was saved and revived in North Carolina, and New Garden School was expanded in power and influence largely as the result of a movement which was organized in 1865 by Francis T. King of Baltimore, and known as "The Baltimore Association of Friends to advise and assist the Friends in the Southern States." At first the "Association" busied itself with immediate relief of distress in the war-stricken areas, or it provided clothing and necessities for Friends fleeing from the ravages of Sherman's march across the South. Soon, however, through the vision and statesmanship of Francis T. King, the work of the Association widened out and became a great constructive educational force. This remarkable man, to whom Quaker education owes an immense debt, was born in Baltimore in 1819. He was educated at Haverford, being a member of the first group of students in 1833. He was deeply impressed by Joseph John Gurney's preaching, and became after the visit of the latter, a dedicated Friend, devoted to the work of his meeting, and to human causes wherever they needed him. He was financially successful and able to retire from active business in 1856, so that he was henceforth free for the great variety of calls for service that came to him. We shall see him later engaged in other educational undertakings of importance. This first great creative task

[1] Quoted from Mary Mendenhall Hobbs in Dr. Edward H. Magill's *Educational Institutions in the Religious Society of Friends* (Chicago, 1893).

[2] See Weeks, *op. cit.* pp. 309, 310.

in the South for the moment concerns us. It was vastly more than educational, but that feature of it must be especially emphasized here. Francis King made nearly forty journeys to North Carolina at a time when travel was often difficult and tedious. He studied the whole situation with patient care. He visited London and Dublin Yearly Meetings, and all the Yearly Meetings in America to arouse Friends to the need of the South and to raise funds for the constructive plans of the Association. His noble spirit, his graceful manner, his solid character, his contagious enthusiasm, as well as his organizing ability, were substantial assets in this interesting piece of work. Money was generously supplied, a large proportion of it by Friends over the seas, and a new era for Quakerism in the South was the result.

Much credit for the success of the work of the Association was due to the wisdom and efficiency of the two superintendents who executed the plans, Joseph Moore and Allen Jay, both from Indiana. They were both men of rare gifts and unusual power. The former was a well-trained scholar, a clear thinker, an inspiring teacher, an anointed Minister. The latter was endowed with great native qualities. He was a natural leader, a tireless worker, rich in humour, full of insight and expediency for emergencies, a born educator and a divinely prepared Minister. These two men, wholly unlike, were at a later period to be two of the foremost leaders of Quaker education in Indiana. Under their executive direction the Baltimore Association spent large sums of money—the amount contributed for the first two years alone amounted to $48,786.52—and started permanent lines of work. New Garden Boarding School was repaired and equipped for better and larger educational work. Thirty primary schools and one normal school were put into operation during the year 1865–1866, and the number of schools was eventually increased to forty with 2744 children, 1233 of whom were Friends. In 1888 New Garden School expanded and emerged into Guilford College. Under the wise leadership of Lewis Lyndon

Hobbs, a graduate of Haverford College, and an educator with a wide vision, Guilford College has become one of the best and most advanced educational institutions in North Carolina and a prominent factor of the intellectual and spiritual life of southern Quakerism.[1]

Friends in Indiana and western Ohio initiated a movement for more advanced education immediately after the havoc of the "separation," but they did not realize their hopes as rapidly as did their brethren in Pennsylvania and North Carolina. Monthly Meeting schools were already a feature of the Quaker system of the west, foremost of which was naturally the Whitewater School at Richmond. A step was taken in 1832 to provide for the boarding of children who came from a distance to the Whitewater School, but many Friends felt that something more adequate and ambitious was needed. Country Friends wanted a boarding home in which they could live when they came to Yearly Meeting, and there was, too, a growing desire to have an educational institution which belonged to the whole Yearly Meeting. In the autumn of 1832 a large tract of land west of Richmond was bought for $5800, and a committee was appointed to solicit subscriptions. Money was scarce, the methods of solicitation were primitive, and funds dribbled in so slowly that building had to be long postponed. Joseph John Gurney's visit to Indiana Yearly Meeting in 1837 gave a decided impetus to the project. In fact his visit marked an epoch. A subscription which he made for some other concern was eventually, with his permission, added to the school fund. This was later supplemented by a gift from his widow, Eliza P. Gurney. This connection with the Gurneys finally gave the suggestion of the name "Earlham" for the college which grew out of the school.[2] Though the building for the proposed boarding-school was begun in 1838, it dragged along for years owing to lack of funds and Quaker antipathy to debt. At length, in 1847, by the help of English and

[1] I have drawn upon the printed Reports of the Baltimore Association, the *Autobiography of Allen Jay* (Phila., 1910), and Weeks' *Southern Quakers and Slavery*.

[2] The Gurney home near Norwich was "Earlham Hall."

eastern Friends, the school, known at this stage as "Friends Boarding School," began its active career. Lewis A. Estes, who had studied in Bowdoin College in his native State of Maine, was the first Principal of the school, and was a real leader both in the intellectual and religious life of Indiana. The name of Barnabas C. Hobbs is intimately bound up with the early history of this institution, as it also is bound up with the larger development of Quaker education in the west in the nineteenth century. He was a native of southern Indiana, a person of large natural endowments, and already in his youth an individual who gave promise of a wide sphere of influence. He was a product of the Monthly Meeting school, and later, full of appetite for truth, entered Cincinnati College, where he completed his education. He taught for four years in the Friends' School at Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, another of the influential centres of Quaker education, before he became, with his gifted wife as co-labourer, superintendent of the new school at Richmond. His later life is woven into the very fibre of the educational system of Indiana as his spiritual ministry is woven into the life of Quakerism in the same State. William B. Morgan, Zaccheus Test, Joseph Moore were three distinguished scholars who helped to create the life and atmosphere of this now famous institution. In 1859 it received a charter as a college, and its name was changed to Earlham College, three years after Haverford had attained the same distinction. It also has had an era of great expansion. It has attractive grounds, adequate buildings, a large endowment, a solid reputation, and it has contributed, as have the other two colleges already mentioned, in untold ways to the higher life of Quakerism, not only in one State, but throughout America.

No sooner were Friends settled in their pioneer homes in Iowa than they began to plan for the education of their children. Salem Monthly Meeting reported in 1841 that there were two hundred and twelve children of school age in their membership, one hundred and eighty-five of whom were in schools taught by Friends.[1] A little later, in 1845,

[1] L. T. Jones, *The Quakers of Iowa*, p. 241.

Reuben Dorland, a well-taught man and a genuine teacher, came to Iowa from New York, and became the founder of Salem Seminary, which for the time and pioneer conditions was a remarkable institution, enrolling over two hundred pupils. This expanded into a college in 1868, and seemed for a short period to be full of promise. Financial disasters, and the catastrophe of fire, however, laid it low, and finally its history came to an end.

For many years the Friends of Iowa counted much on the mission and service of their local academies. The settlements were widely sundered, travel was difficult, and conditions of life and work required that both boys and girls should be within easy reach of the home and the farm. The result of these conditions was that many academies flourished from 1850 to 1880, and large sacrifices were made to maintain them. They rendered an important service in the era of their creation, but they were bound to be a temporary expedient and to decrease with the increase of a more adequate central institution which would absorb the loyalty of the general membership. Such a central institution sprang up at Oskaloosa. This institution owed its origin to the merging together of earlier schools and institutes into one institution which was to be a college. Friends in Philadelphia generously contributed to the project, first conceived in 1867, and well under way toward visible construction in 1871. The central college building of handsome brick was completed and opened for students in 1873, and named Penn College in honour of William Penn. This institution has throughout its history taken a strong place in the hearts of Iowa Friends. They have made large sacrifices for it. They have borne heavy financial burdens for it, and they have reaped great returns from its silent constructive work. It has become through fiery baptisms ever dearer to the membership, and it stands as a monument of Quaker faith and courage.

Meantime Friends of the Hicksite branch had been active in the creation of schools, and had a long list of successful academies, seminaries, and select schools in

operation before they ventured to establish a college. This important step was finally taken in 1869, though, as in the case of most other ambitious projects for the advancement of Quaker education, there was a long period of silent preparation for the visible event. Samuel Willetts and Edward Parrish were indefatigable workers for the project, and they powerfully assisted, each in his particular way, toward the realization of the hope which many Friends of this period shared. The institution was located on a commanding site surrounded by beautiful fields and woods, about ten miles from Philadelphia, on the same line of railroad as Westtown School. It was happily named from the famous Swarthmore Hall, the home of Margaret Fell, who became the wife of George Fox. Unlike Haverford College, it was, from the first inception, designed to be open to both men and women. It was thus one of the first higher institutions of learning in America to make no distinction between the sexes in educational privileges. Its career was successful from the start, opening as it did with one hundred and sixty students. A fire destroyed the main building in 1881, but a new and better building almost immediately took its place. It has drawn to itself a succession of able and qualified men and women among its administrators and professors, and it has achieved distinction in the educational world, while it has at the same time exerted a marked influence upon the membership of the branch of Quakerism which it represents. The name of Edward H. Magill is for ever associated with the early period of the history of this college.

While these institutions of learning were being created in England and America, the general interest in education was deepening and spreading throughout the Society of Friends in both countries. Very few even yet were being broadly and profoundly educated. There have always been a few Quaker scholars, though it has never been possible to name many Friends of first rank in any field of scholarship.[1] But the entire membership after 1840

[1] The following Friends, or persons closely allied with Friends, have been Fellows of the Royal Society during the period covered by this history.

began to show the broadening effect of the new schools, and gradually the work of the colleges grew apparent. Though English Friends had no institutions of the grade of the American college, they fully kept pace with American Friends in intellectual development, and probably surpassed the latter. They accomplished this by having more leisure for study than was the case in America, and by making use of private tutors. It is probably a fact also that the teaching in the English secondary schools was superior on the whole to that in a corresponding school in America. In any case the fact is unmistakable that at any period in the nineteenth century the average English Friend was the intellectual equal of the American Friend, while there was probably a larger number of highly trained Friends with a cosmopolitan outlook in England than could be found at any time in this country.

In 1848, under a bequest left by Benjamin Flounders, a training college for young men teachers, known as Flounders Institute, was established on a part of the property adjoining Ackworth School. This Institute was well endowed with a sum of about £40,000, which was later considerably increased. It has had a useful mission, and many successful teachers in the schools of the Society have owed their preparation for their career to this Institute. In 1894 the Institute was transferred to rented premises in Leeds, near the Yorkshire College (which became the University of Leeds in 1904). The students thereby obtained the advantage of expert teach-

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The date of election is given. Sylvanus Bevan, 1725; Peter Collinson, 1728; Thomas Birch, D.D., 1734; John Fothergill, M.D., 1763; Thomas Dimsdale, M.D., 1769; John Coakley Lettsom, M.D., 1773; Jeremiah Dixon, 1773; Mark Beaufoy, 1790; Thomas Young, 1794; Lewis Weston Dillwyn, 1804; William Allen, 1807; Hudson Gurney, 1818; Luke Howard, 1821; John Dalton, 1822; Richard Phillips, 1822; John Scandrett Harford, 1823; James Cowles Prichard, M.D., 1827; William Phillips, 1827; Joseph Jackson Lister, 1832; William Allen Miller, 1845; Robert Were Fox, 1848; Joseph Fletcher Miller, 1850; Isaac Fletcher, 1855; Joseph Lister, 1860; Daniel Oliver, 1863; William Pengelly, 1863; Daniel Hanbury, 1867; Edward Burnett Tylor, 1871; Wilson Fox, M.D., 1872; John Eliot Howard, 1874; Henry Bowman Brady, 1874; William Edward Forster, 1875; John Gilbert Baker, 1878; George Stewardson Brady, M.D., 1882; Jonathan Hutchinson, 1882; Sir Edward Fry, 1883; John Theodore Cash, M.D., 1887; Silvanus Phillips Thompson, 1891; Arthur Lister, 1898; Joseph Jackson Lister, 1900. (Taken from *Friends Historical Journal*, vol. vii. p. 30.)

ing in all branches of Arts and Science, as well as in the Theory and Practice of Education.

Later the Trustees decided to apply to the Board of Education for a new scheme under which the funds could be administered in the form of exhibitions available at various universities in the United Kingdom or abroad. This scheme came into operation in 1909, since when the students have, in the main, been located in colleges or halls attached to the universities. This plan not only secures some economy in working expenses, but allows of much greater elasticity in the distribution of the funds, while each student obtains a large freedom of choice in the supply of his individual needs.

In 1871 the religious tests which prevented dissenters and nonconformists from attending Oxford and Cambridge were removed, and from this period onward Friends began to go in ever-increasing numbers to these universities. A few years later, in 1876, Friends of Manchester established Dalton Hall as a Hall of Residence for Friends in Owens College, originally a part of Victoria University, now Manchester University. This Hall of Residence accommodates fifty or more students and has thus furnished a college home to many Friends since its foundation. As early as 1837 English Friends, under the leadership of Samuel Tuke and Joseph Rowntree, formed a Friends Educational Society, which flourished for many years and which did very much to cultivate interest both in the past history of Quaker education and in the further development of it. Samuel Tuke's enlightening addresses at the annual meetings of this Society are most valuable contributions to the history of Quaker education.[1] In 1881 a Central Education Board was formed as a general committee of counsel on problems of education. It is constituted of representatives of the Yearly Meeting and of Quaker educational institutions. It performs a valuable service as a medium for the interpretation of educational methods and the needs of education to the Yearly Meeting and to the membership at large. In 1895 a Friends'

[1] *Five Papers.* See Sketch of Samuel Tuke in chap. xix.

Guild of Teachers was formed, and has rendered a distinct service. In 1902 the Central Education Board was reconstituted under the name "Central Education Committee," with representation of the Quarterly Meetings, and its functions were extended to include the care of children not in Friends' Schools and the promotion of teaching in Quaker history and principles for children, adolescents and adults. Since 1920 the Committee works in three sections: (*a*) Boarding Schools and General Education, including University, teacher training, choice of careers; (*b*) Sunday School and Children's Work; (*c*) Adult Education, the general intellectual and religious development of those who have left school. Local committees are also being set up in most Quarterly Meetings to carry out these functions.

One of the greatest events in the history of education in Great Britain was the creation of the new school system under the Education Act of 1870. This Act was in the main the work of William Edward Forster, then Minister of Education. He was at that time not a member of the Society of Friends, though he had been born a member, was brought up in a Quaker home, received his education in the schools of Friends and always preserved the manners and influences of his early training. His Bill, which was unmercifully attacked at the time both by extreme churchmen and by equally extreme dissenters, marked a great advance. This enlightened educational leader was full of love for little children and he was determined to open the way for every child in Great Britain to have a fair chance to gain an education. His brave and conscientious labours revealed how impossible was the task to create at once a system which would satisfy all the religious parties—the problem was then an insoluble one—but William Edward Forster ranks among the foremost creators of the opportunity for universal education.

In America an Educational Conference somewhat similar to the English Educational Society was organized in 1877 to promote interest in education among Friends. The first Conference was held in Baltimore under the

chairmanship of Francis T. King. Friends from all parts of the country were represented and the leading educators in the Society took part in the proceedings and discussions. For many years similar Conferences were held at intervals of about three years in different parts of the country. One important result of these gatherings was the publication for some years of a monthly periodical on educational problems, called *The Student.*

In the two decades between 1865 and 1885 three great American institutions of learning were founded through the generosity of three men who were born and trained in the Society of Friends. The first of these was Cornell University, opened at Ithaca, New York, in 1868, founded by Ezra Cornell (1807–1874). He gave $500,000 to found the university on condition that the income from the sale of the 990,000 acres of land, granted to the State by the Government, should be devoted to the university, a provision which eventually gave it immense resources. The second endowment was made by Johns Hopkins (1795–1873) of Baltimore, Maryland. In 1873, the year of his death, Johns Hopkins gave $4,500,000 to found a medical hospital to be for ever open freely to all persons without regard to race or colour. He also gave at the same time $3,500,000 to found a university devoted to advanced study and research. At his death he bequeathed a fortune of $10,000,000 to the hospital and university. Francis T. King was made a trustee both of the hospital and of the university, and he became the first president of the board of trustees of the former. Friends have throughout the history of the university held positions both on the board and on the faculty.

Dr. Joseph W. Taylor, of Burlington, New Jersey (1810–1880), bequeathed his estate of over a million dollars at his death in 1880 to provide for the endowment of a college for women which he had for some years been planning to establish. The college was opened in the autumn of 1885 at Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania. Not only was the founder a deeply concerned Friend, but all the trustees were, by provision of the will, to be Friends.

The first executive officers of the college, the president, Dr. James E. Rhoads, and the dean, M. Carey Thomas, Ph.D. of Baltimore, were Friends of marked distinction. Francis T. King was made president also of this board of trustees. From the very beginning of its history Bryn Mawr College established its reputation as an institution of the highest grade of scholarship both in graduate and in undergraduate work. Although the trustees are Friends by provision of the charter, and Friends have had a large share in the work of creating and managing the college, it is, nevertheless, entirely unsectarian in character.

It is not possible within the narrow limits of a chapter to tell in any detail the thrilling story of devotion and sacrifice involved in the creation and development of each particular school which the Friends have built. Each new community of Friends in America, as the Society has moved westward, has met the problem of furnishing a pioneer society with adequate opportunities for the education of the children, and each such occasion has its share of loyalty, of heroism, and of personal sacrifice. In many cases the Friends' secondary schools—sometimes called academies or seminaries — have been eliminated by the later development of first-class free public schools in the neighbourhoods, but that consummation must not be allowed to obscure the significance of the earlier achievement. Friends in Iowa and Kansas, for example, served large communities for many years through their excellent primary and secondary institutions, before the public schools were sufficiently developed to be satisfactory training places. With the growth and improvement of the public school system Friends have wisely decided not to compete with local schools, but instead to concentrate their efforts upon one central institution of higher grade and to make that minister not only to the youth of their own denomination, but to the larger public as well.

Besides the institutions already mentioned and the American colleges of a later date still to be mentioned,

Friends have established and maintained the following impressive list of schools:

(A) *English Schools.*—Wigton School, in Cumberland, established in 1815; Rawdon School, in Yorkshire, established in 1832; Penketh School, at Penketh, near Warrington, established in 1834; Sibford School, in Oxfordshire, established in 1842; Ayton School, established in 1841; Leighton Park, a high-class boarding-school for boys, at Reading, established in 1890. In addition to these schools, which were established and managed by official meetings, there was a long list of schools in the nineteenth century owned and managed by individual Friends' or by groups of Friends. It has not been possible in many cases to find the exact date of the origin of these schools, but I am giving the localities where Friends' schools were known to have been in operation at some period of the last century. Alphington, near Exeter; Bath (Hatfield Place); Bath (Laura Place); Berkhampstead—a school for girls; Bishop Auckland; Brentford (Brent House)—a school for girls; Brighton; Bristol (Cotham House); Bristol (Fishpond House); Burford, Oxon; Camberwell, London; Charlbury, Oxon; Charlbury, Oxon—a school for girls; Chester (Grove House); Christchurch; Clutton, Somerset; Colchester (47 North Hill); Compton, Dorset; Croydon (George Smith's school); Croydon (Russell House); Darlington; Darlington (Polam Hall)—a school for girls; Doncaster—school for girls; Dover; Earls Colne, Essex; Edgbaston, Birmingham; Epping (Old Bank); Falmouth; Fincham, Norfolk; Frenchay, near Bristol—school for girls; Gloucester (Spa Walk)—school for girls; Godmanchester, near Huntingdon; Haverhill, Suffolk; Hemel Hempstead—school for girls; Hertford (Bayley Hall); Hitchin (Isaac Brown's); Hitchin (Woodlands); Huddersfield (New House Place)—school for girls; Isleworth—school for girls; Islington (5 Sun Row); Kendal (Ladies' College); Kendal (Stramongate); Leeds (Camp Lane Court); Leeds (Gildersome); Leighton Buzzard; Lewes—school for girls; Liverpool (Gerard Street); Looe,

Cornwall ; Lexden, near Colchester ; Milverton ; Newton near Settle ; Painswick ; Peckham, London ; Preston (Tulketh Hall) ; Rochester—school for girls ; Rochester (Boley Hill); Scarborough; Scarborough (Oliver's Mount); Settle ; Sheffield (Broomhall) ; Sheffield—school for girls ; Skipton in Craven, Yorks ; Southport ; Southport (Spring Hill) ; Sowerby, near Thirsk ; Stapleton, near Bristol ; Stockbridge, Hants (Queenswood College) ; Stoke Newington, London ; Tamworth ; Tottenham, London (Forsters) ; Tottenham, London (Coars) ; Tottenham, London (Grove House) ; Wandsworth ; Weston-super-Mare ; Warrington (Fearnhead House) ; Wellington, Somerset ; Woburn ; Woodside, near Liverpool ; Worcester—school for girls ; Worcester (Silver Street); York (Lawrence Street), 1822, taken over by York Quarterly Meeting, 1829.

(B) *Irish Schools.*—Leinster Provincial School, at Lisburn, established in 1749, taken over by Ulster Quarterly Meeting in 1794 ; Mountmellick School for Girls, established by Leinster Quarterly Meeting in 1785 ; Munster Provincial School, at Newtown, near Waterford, established in 1798; Friends' Boarding School, in Dublin, established in 1840 ; Brookfield Agricultural College, in the county of Antrim, established in 1838.

(C) *American Schools.*—Wilmington School for Girls, established as a boarding-school for girls, Friends and others, in Wilmington, Delaware, in 1809, by Eli and Samuel Hilles ; Fair Hill Boarding School, at Sandy Spring, Maryland (Baltimore Yearly Meeting), opened 1819 ; Alexandria Boarding School (Hicksite) at Alexandria, Virginia, established by Benjamin Hallowell in 1824 ; Clairmont Boarding Academy, near Frankford, Pennsylvania, established by Samuel L. Griscom in 1828 ; Friends' Select Schools—offshoots of the Public School chartered by William Penn—organized in 1832 under the care of the Monthly Meetings of Philadelphia ; West Chester Friends' Graded School (Hicksite), began in 1835, was expanded in 1866. Friends' Boarding School (Wilburite) at Barnesville, Ohio, was established at Mt. Pleasant, where it was opened in 1837 with

an enrolment of one hundred and twenty. The building at Mount Pleasant was burned, and in 1876 the school, now under the care of the Wilburite Yearly Meeting, was removed to Barnesville; Sharon Female Seminary (Hicksite) near Darby, Pennsylvania, established in 1838. Friends' Central School, founded by the Hicksite branch of Friends, in 1845; Bloomingdale Academy, at Bloomingdale, Indiana, established in 1845; Farmers Institute, Shadeland, Indiana, 1850; Darby Friends' School, under the care of Darby Monthly Meeting, Pennsylvania, established in 1854, later called Lansdowne Friends' School; Oak Grove Seminary, at Vassalboro, Maine (New England Yearly Meeting), first opened in 1849, permanently established in 1857; Friendsville Academy, Friendsville, Tennessee, 1857; Friends' Seminary, established in New York City by Hicksite Friends in 1861, and a similar school in Brooklyn in 1867; Friends' Elementary and High School, Baltimore, established by Hicksite Friends in 1864; Chappaqua Mountain Institute (Hicksite), at Chappaqua, New York, established in 1870. Oakwood Seminary, at Union Springs, New York (successor to Nine Partners School), established in 1864. This institution moved to Poughkeepsie, New York, in 1920. Union High School, at Westfield, Indiana, established in 1861; Raisin Valley Seminary, at Adrian, Michigan, established in 1850, expanded in 1863; New London Academy, New London, Indiana, 1863; Sand Creek Seminary, Sand Creek, Indiana, 1866; Friends' Academy, Richmond, Indiana, 1867;[1] Ackworth Academy, established at Ackworth, Iowa, in 1867; Carmel Academy, Carmel, Indiana, 1868; Spiceland Academy, at Spiceland, Indiana, established in 1870. Miami Valley Institute (Hicksite), Springboro, Ohio, 1871; Amboy Academy, Amboy, Indiana, 1872; Le Grand Academy, established at Le Grand, Iowa, in 1872; Damascus Academy at Damascus, Ohio, established in 1885; Friends' Academy (Hicksite) at Locust

[1] This school had an earlier career in the old meeting-house in Fort Wayne Avenue, beginning there in 1844.

Valley, Long Island, New York, founded by Gideon Frost in 1876; Maryville Academy, at Maryville, Tennessee, established in 1878; Vermillion Academy, at Vermillion, Illinois, established in 1874; Pleasant Plain Academy, at Pleasant Plain, Iowa, established in 1874; Germantown Friends' School, Germantown, Pennsylvania, established in 1845; Moorestown Friends' School, Moorestown, New Jersey (Hicksite), 1880; Moorestown Friends' Academy, 1785; Central Academy at Plainfield, Indiana, established in 1880; New Providence Academy, at New Providence, Iowa, established in 1882; Hesper Academy, at Hesper, Kansas, established in 1884; Friends' Academy, at Tonganoxie, Kansas, established in 1878; Rockland School for Girls, at Sandy Spring, Maryland, established in 1878; Friends' Select School, at Washington, D.C. (Hicksite), established in 1882, now called Sidwell's School. Sherwood Friends' School (Hicksite), Sandy Spring, Maryland, in 1883; Abington Friends' School (Hicksite), Abington, Pennsylvania, 1887; George School, near Newtown, Pennsylvania, established in 1893; Fairmount Academy, at Fairmount, Indiana, established in 1885; North Branch Academy at North Branch, Kansas, established in 1890; Lowell Academy, at Lowell, Kansas, established in 1892; Haviland Academy, at Haviland, Kansas, established in 1892; Earlham Academy, Earlham, Iowa, established in 1892; Stella Academy, at Stella, Oklahoma, established in 1897; Friendswood Academy, Friendswood, Texas, 1900; Scattergood Academy (Wilburite), at West Branch, Iowa, 1890; Lawrence Academy, at Gate, Oklahoma, 1906; Greenleaf Academy, later Greenleaf Seminary, Greenleaf, Idaho, 1908; Friends' School (Hicksite) Lincoln, Virginia; Corinth Academy, Ivor, Virginia, 1899.[1]

(D) *Colonial Foreign Schools.*—Friends' School at Cape Town in South Africa, established in 1842; Boarding School for Girls, at Nîmes in the south of France, established in 1847; Hobart School at Hobart, Tasmania,

[1] I have received considerable help in the formation of this list of schools from Dr. Magill's brochure on *Educational Institutions* (Chicago, 1893).

established in 1890; Wanganui School for Boys and Girls, New Zealand, established in 1920.

There still remain for consideration six Friends' colleges which have been established in recent times and are so nearly contemporary with this generation that it will not be desirable to deal with them in much detail, though they hold a place of large importance in their sections of country, and are deeply rooted in the affections of the Friends who have helped create them and maintain them. They are, in order of establishment: Wilmington College, Wilmington, Ohio, established in 1871; Pickering College, originally located at Pickering, now at Newmarket, Ontario, Canada, established in 1878; Pacific College at Newberg, Oregon, opened as an academy in 1885 and chartered as a college in 1891; Whittier College at Whittier, California, opened as an academy in 1891, and chartered as a college in 1896; Friends' University at Wichita, Kansas, established in 1898; Nebraska Central College, at Central City, Nebraska, established in 1898.

These six institutions of higher learning—they are all degree-granting institutions—have developed rapidly in endowments, standing, and influence. They have already moulded a generation of Friends and they have attracted a large number of persons of other denominations to their halls. The most impressive feature of their history in this early stage, however, is the submerged feature which baffles any recorder and escapes report. Behind each college, and beneath all that is visible in brick or stone, there is an accumulation of patient effort, persistent prayer, strong enthusiasm, generous contribution, and sacrificial ministry, which only a recording angel could tell. These institutions in this later time are illustrations, in terms of the present period, of the same spirit and aspiration which at an early time reared the rude Monthly Meeting School of the pioneer and built Ackworth, Westtown, and Providence Boarding Schools. Friends have carried in their heart a passion for truth. They have sometimes falsely supposed that this precious

truth, which they wished to exalt, was a fixed and static thing, already found, and needing only to be proclaimed. But the real leaders of the Society have, on the other hand, been forward-looking and creative. They have wished to contribute to the discovery of truth, and they have taken what part they could in creating institutions that would minister to the search and propagation of truth.

Throughout this whole period under review in this chapter and in every section of the extensive field covered, Friends have been primarily concerned in the formation of character. They supposed for many years that this was best accomplished by what they called "guarded education." They favoured a method of education which protected the child from certain influences, believed to be harmful, and which shielded him in his maturer period from the forces of the world. Opinions have differed as to the value of this protective method. It is kindly meant, but it in turn has its own subtle dangers and its own defects as a way of forming character. In any case, it is not possible in the world to-day to carry the idea very far. The old protective schemes have failed and the ancient hedges are down. Life, with its good and evil forces, beats in upon us all and we are compelled at an early stage to learn to *choose*, and, if we are to succeed, we must acquire habits which will secure quick decision and, in the main, right action. It should, perhaps, be admitted that the absence of an appreciation of art and the failure to recognize the value of music in education were, for many years, defects in the scheme of these institutions. One side of life, and that an important side, was uncultivated. Imagination was not properly developed and, while this condition prevailed, the product of Quaker education was in danger of becoming a matter-of-fact person with the ease and grace of life somewhat wanting. That criticism applies, however, only to an earlier time, when the sterner temper prevailed toward the lighter and "unpractical" aspects of culture. One of the most valuable contributions which these Quaker

institutions have builded into the lives of the thousands of pupils and students who have attended them has been a deep, quiet, pervasive religious quality of life, fed and nourished by the tone and atmosphere of the institutions as well as by the positive teaching, and, in many cases, by the Friends' meeting attended week after week by the scholars in this mobile period of their lives.

CHAPTER XVIII

FRIENDS' TESTIMONY FOR PEACE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY[1]

FRIENDS undertook seriously to revive and restore primitive Christianity. They believed that they had rediscovered the way of life which the Galilean lived and taught, but which seemed to them to have largely disappeared from the world. Elaborate "substitutes" had been devised through the intervening centuries for this simple way of life which they proposed to restore. They resolved to have done with all the forms of substitute Christianity and to return to the practice of the teaching and the spirit of Christ. That step involved no doubt more than they supposed at the time. They were weak in historical insight and they did not clearly envisage the difficulty of living by standards which profoundly differed from those prevailing in the world in which they were immersed. In any case they made the venture and held to their faith, as we have seen, through the eighteenth century.

After the great colonial experiments in which Friends endeavoured to become a controlling factor in the colonies in which they were predominant and to put their principles into full operation — especially in Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania—they steadily withdrew from public life, surrendered their political aspirations and their hopes of world-transformation, and became a sect apart,

[1] Some sections of this chapter have been printed in the Report of American Commission No. 1 for the London Conference of All Friends held in August 1920.

a peculiar people, bent upon the cultivation of the inner life and the maintenance of a set of "testimonies." During this period of retreat and isolation, Friends had occasional sufferings to undergo for their faith, generally, however, sufferings of a financial order, in terms of fines and distraints. Conscription with its heavy weight had not yet come to oppress the human spirit. It was possible to live apart in peace, or almost so, and let the world fight its battles and bury its dead. The "testimony" for peace was kept alive by the Queries and in the annual Epistles, but it seldom received any luminous interpretation. The loftiest expression of it during this period of quietism and exclusion, as I have already shown, is in a Tract by the noble philanthropist, Anthony Benezet of Philadelphia, who reached down to the fundamental basis. His position rests upon a well-defined conviction of what is involved in being a Christian. If Christianity means the maintenance of a certain way of life, the prevalence of a certain spirit of love, then to remit that way, to surrender that spirit, would of course be to give up Christianity itself and to betray Christ.

During the years of the world war, in the Napoleonic epoch, Friends in Great Britain were treated with "great lenity" by the Government, and their "testimony" did not bring very heavy strain on the membership. Almost the only real difficulty came in the form of "distraints for military purposes" which amounted to only about £3000 a year. Occasionally a Friend was given a brief period of imprisonment for refusing to find a substitute to take his place in the service. In 1802 Friends were specifically exempted from direct military service, though they still might be called upon to furnish a substitute, a form of temptation which sometimes caught easy-going Friends both in England and America. In Ireland, however, at the perilous times of the great uprising or rebellion (1798), Friends in the regions affected had the severest test which members of the Society, until the American Civil War, have ever had to undergo, and they stood by their religious principles unswervingly and un-

compromisingly through the pitiless stress. In the American War for Independence patriotic feelings were profoundly stirred. Many young Friends broke anchor and were swept into war by the spirit of the times. The largest group of this type was in Philadelphia. A small group of Quaker patriots organized an independent Society, called the "Free Quakers." They renounced the ancient testimony against war and claimed individual freedom of judgment in their relation to the State and to public life. The defection was, however, too small to affect very seriously the main body of Friends, and the little band itself found it impossible to maintain a separate existence on its somewhat anomalous basis.

It was the policy of the main body of the Society, at this time, to disown all who deviated from its standards and principles. It took the "remnant" idea very seriously and very literally. The spiritual leaders of the body believed that it was an important part of their business to keep the Society pure in its faith and loyal to its truth at whatever cost of numbers. No discipline was too severe, no sacrifice too great if the preservation of the purity of the "remnant" were the issue. By actual count of cases in the minutes of Monthly Meetings it appears that no less than four hundred members of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting were expelled for their participation in some form of military service during the revolutionary period (1776–1783).[1] There was a similar winnowing of the Society in all the other American Yearly Meetings. In most cases Friends recognized the lofty and high-minded spirit which had actuated their young members, but they did not allow their patriotic sympathies to interfere with their primary religious duty, which was to keep alive in the world an undefiled "remnant," dedicated to the practice of the Galilean way of life. Some of the most prominent members of the Society were sifted out and lost to the body by this stern policy, the most famous case being that of Nathaniel Greene of Rhode Island,

[1] This investigation was made by President Isaac Sharpless, and the statement is made on his authority.

next to George Washington among all the generals of the Revolutionary army in military ability.

Early in the nineteenth century appeared a most important interpretation of the fundamental basis of the Quaker position concerning war—in fact the first great arresting interpretation of it to be made. This was Jonathan Dymond's famous monograph called *An Enquiry into the Accordancy of War with the Principles of Christianity.* The argument was expanded and developed in the "Essay on War" which is a part of a posthumous volume of *Essays on the Principles of Morality.*[1] Jonathan Dymond (1796–1828) is almost without biography. He consumed his own smoke and turned everything that belonged to him into the two books and a few tracts which bear his name, the first of the books not even reporting its author's name. A contemporary Friend records that he possessed "talents rarely bestowed" and "exalted piety capable of extensive usefulness," and his writings fully verify that modest claim. He wrote his essays in a room adjoining his draper's shop, subject to frequent interruptions from customers who broke in upon his profound meditations. The world around him had no suspicion that this linen draper was a genius, but it is perfectly clear to the modern reader that this man who died of a distressing tuberculosis of the throat at the age of thirty-one, had a mind of very fine quality, an unusual style, and a moral perspicacity and penetration not often matched. One may not agree with this position or that of Dymond's *Essays*, but he cannot fail to see that here is a thinker who first of all seeks the moral ground and principle upon which moral actions rest, who fearlessly goes the whole way to the practical conclusions that follow, and who will have absolutely nothing to do with the

[1] The first edition of *An Enquiry, etc.*, was printed in London in 1823 without the author's name. The third edition "corrected and enlarged" was published in 1824. It was published in Philadelphia in 1834 with notes by Thomas S. Grimké, and again in 1835, the latter being called the fourth edition. The *Essays on the Principles of Morality* (including the one on War) were published in London in 1829. A very large number of editions followed. A New York edition appeared in 1834 and another in 1844. The "Essay on War" has many times been printed by itself, and was edited with an introduction by John Bright.

flimsy doctrine of *expediency* so dear to Paley and other contemporary moralists. The *Essays* were thoughtfully and fairly studied in the *Quarterly Review* for January and February 1831, in an article written by Robert Southey, who declares that "Dymond's book is of such ability and so excellently intended, as well as executed, that even those who differ most widely, as we must do, from some of its conclusions, must *regard the writer* with the *greatest respect*, and look upon his early death as a public loss."[1]

Dymond studied with much insight the causes of war, and he dealt sanely and wisely with the moral evils involved in the nature of war. The weightiest part of his contribution, however, is his formulation of the fundamental grounds of the Quaker "testimony" against it. He reduces the situation to a sharp dilemma: either we must refuse to fight or we must abandon Christianity. War and Christianity are contradictory ways of life; they are flatly incompatible with each other. With a few swift and telling sentences Dymond presents the heart and essence of the gospel, and points out in a very lucid way that war and the spirit or disposition which leads to war, are absolutely at variance with the way of life set forth in the New Testament. He makes short work of the sophistry and casuistry by which texts that command love and forgiveness have been coerced into a defence of war. The religion taught by Christ and sealed by His death, Dymond insists, is a way of life that would, if it were once in operation, extirpate war, for it gives no direct sanction to it, and it absolutely forbids the *dispositions* which lead to war, and which feed and foster it. If, therefore, we take Christianity as it stands revealed with all seriousness, and propose to order our lives in conformity with the revealed will of God, the question of war is determined for us. War and Christ's way are wholly incompatible. "With him who thinks that the decisions of Christianity may be superseded by other considerations," Dymond says, "we have no concern; we address not our

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 83.

arguments to him, but leave him to find some other and better standard by which to adjust his principles and regulate his conduct."[1] It needs, of course, to be said that Dymond takes an uncritical view of the gospel. He knows nothing of the present-day reader's perplexities. He assumes that "Christianity" is this well-defined way of life unfolded in the Gospels and incarnated in the Saviour, and he sweepingly concludes that its essential feature is a spirit, which would forever exclude participation in war on the part of a person who possessed that spirit.

It should be pointed out that this argument of Dymond's — and the historical Quaker argument in general — carries with it immense implications. The Christianity which makes war impossible is a way of life which extirpates or controls the dispositions that lead to war. It eradicates the seeds of war in one's daily life. It translates the beatitudes out of the language of a printed book into the practice and spirit of a living person. It is not consistent for any one to claim that his Christianity as a way of life stops him from war unless he is prepared to adjust his entire life—in its personal aspirations, in its relations with his fellows, in its pursuit of truth, in its economic and social bearings, in its political obligations, in its religious fellowships, in its intercourse with God—to the tremendous demands of Christ's way. If Friends are to challenge the whole world and claim the right to continue in the ways of peace while everybody else is fighting, they must reveal the fact *that they are worthy of peace, and that they bear in their bodies the marks of the Lord Jesus.*

Between the Revolutionary War and the Civil War of 1861–1865 Friends in America had no great crises of experience to give their peace position a searching test. It has been the usual policy of the United States, though not explicitly formulated, to make as easy adjustment as possible with conscientious conviction. Friends were known to the national government and to the authorities

[1] *Enquiry* (New York Edition, 1834), p. 49.

in most of the States to be strictly opposed to war on religious grounds, and in many instances anticipatory provision was made in military laws exempting Friends by name. The exempting provisions, however, were often drawn up by persons who did not understand the ground on which Friends objected to war, and consequently the provisions were frequently inadequate. They indicated nevertheless at least that a new stage of liberal interpretation of human rights and privileges had been attained.[1] State requirements for militia training often brought sections of the Society into grave difficulties, but in most cases special provisions were made for Friends, or relief was quickly secured by appeals to the officials who respected their attitude of conscience. Both in England and America, to be sure, the method of distraint was still in operation, and Friends who did not consent to train in the militia nor to pay the fine for failing to do so, had their sheep or cattle seized and driven away as a substitute for the fine, or in case they had no live stock they were forced to forfeit some of their household goods. In the early period of frontier life in Ohio and Indiana, particularly in times of Indian conflict, Friends were often brought into serious straits, and some of their young members yielded to the pressure which was brought to bear to make them train. Such minutes as this one of Whitewater Monthly Meeting (Indiana) for 26th May 1810, are very common:

> The preparative meeting complains of Jacob Fouts junr. for fighting and training with the militia. John Addington and Jesse Bond are appointed to visit him, and endeavour to bring him to a sight and sense of his misconduct and report to next meeting.

He was disowned the following July.

A Memorial was sent by Friends in Indiana this same year (1810) urging that the military laws of the district be altered so that Friends should not be compelled to suffer for their conscience. The Memorial which secured the desired result is a characteristic Quaker document of the time, and clearly indicates that Friends' opposition to

[1] See Harold Laski, *Authority in the Modern State* (New Haven, 1919).

war in every form is a settled and undebatable fact. It is as follows:

To William Henry Harrison, Governor of Indiana Territory, to the Legislative Council, and House of Representatives, in General Assembly met.

Few if any of the present members of Government, we presume, are altogether unacquainted with the conscientious scruples of Friends against bearing arms, or acting in any manner as military men, ever since they became a Religious Society. And considering the penalties, and suffering they have heretofore been subject to from other governments on that account, it leaves no room to suppose that their declining to act in that capacity proceeded from obstinacy or disregard to the laws of their country. They conceive also that notwithstanding they have always declined the use of the military sword, they have not been useless citizens; and that indulgences that have been granted to conscientious people in other governments have not in any manner been prejudicial to the real interest and prosperity of the country, but rather it has been a means of inducing useful citizens to settle in, and improve various parts thereof, nor does it admit of any doubt that penal laws calculated to force people to act in violation of what they believe to be their duty to their Maker, never did nor ever will promote the true interest and safety of any country. And altho' heavy fines have heretofore in some places been imposed for non-attendance of musters, and those fines have been made double by unreasonable seizures, to the great distress of some poor families; yet it seems scarcely likely that the publick have been much if any at all benefited by the application of such fines. Your memorialists therefore cannot suppose that it can be a desirable object with a free and enlightened people to subject any orderly set of Christians to penalties and sufferings, either in their persons or estates on account of their religious opinions, which can never be injurious to the country at large or to any individual.—All of which we submit to the legislature that they make such alterations in the military laws as to them may appear reasonable, equitable and humane.

In August of the next year the following letter was sent to express the appreciation of Friends for the exemption which was granted them:

To William Henry Harrison, Governor of Indiana Territory, to the Legislative Council and House of Representatives in General Assembly met.—Friends acknowledge the clemency of

the last Session in exonerating them from the injunctions of the military laws; which may be an inducement to many useful citizens to migrate to this Territory. When we for conscience sake cannot be active, we hope to be passive. If we may be useful in harmonizing our fellow citizens, or civilizing our Indian neighbours, we will with unreserved alacrity contribute thereto; as we hope ever to participate in the peaceful improvement of our country's welfare.[1]

The "War of 1812," with Great Britain, did not bring Friends into very serious straits. There were, as has always happened in war times, some "deficiencies" in the maintenance of the testimony, but the defections were few in number. It is possible to see how exact and scrupulous the shepherds of the sheep were by the way in which they dealt with a member for going to a fort for protection in the stress and danger of western war. These following minutes are actions of Whitewater Monthly Meeting in the period of the War of 1812:

29th of 5th mo. 1813:
Seth Way is complained of for going into a fort for protection and being concerned in military affairs.

26th of 6th mo. 1813:
Seth Way did not appear inclined to condemn his conduct, he is therefore disowned.

28th of 5th mo. 1814:
Solomon Horney was complained against for hiring a substitute in the militia.

In all the meetings throughout the country the strict application of the Discipline for all deviations from the "testimony" was put in force. The idea still prevailed that the Society of Friends was to be in the world a pure "remnant," composed only of persons who under no circumstances would conform to military requirements.

The Meeting for Sufferings of Baltimore Yearly Meeting adopted an impressive message to its members at the close of the War of 1812, in which these words occur:

[1] These two memorials are taken from the minutes of Whitewater M.M. for Aug. 1810 and 1811.

Friends are united in a renewed sense of the preciousness of our religious Testimony against War . . . whatever may be our share of sufferings, our sincerity cannot be better manifested than by a conduct upon our part correspondent with the meekness and gentleness of Christ. We feel an earnest desire that Friends, when called upon for military requisitions, may carefully guard against any conduct either at variance with our peaceful profession, or tending to lessen their sufferings by any indirect payment of fines or other military demands.

The minute was sent to all the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings with the caution that they be careful, when collecting accounts of sufferings, not to admit of any case which may not appear to have been faithfully borne.

It was easier still for American Friends to weather the crisis of the war with Mexico (1846–1848). This war was strongly opposed by a large element of the population in the northern States and the military forces of the United States were very small. Friends shared with many others the feeling that it was an unjust war, waged to extend the domain of slavery, and they were opposed to it on two counts: (1) because it was a war, and (2) because it seemed to them iniquitous in the central purpose. Friends almost, if not quite, universally agreed at the time with the strong words which were used in an editorial article of the *Friends' Review*, then in its first volume: "We are convinced," the article says, "that a vast majority of our most considerate people fully believe that neither moral rectitude nor political expediency can justify the prosecution of this desolating conflict."[1] A Memorial emphatically opposed to the war was sent to Congress by the New England Meeting for Sufferings which the presenter in the House of Representatives said expressed the attitude and convictions of nine thousand citizens living in six States. The Memorial vigorously set forth the opposition of Friends to all wars and their especial opposition to this particular war.[2]

Meantime the tide of moral sentiment against war as a method of settling international disputes was every-

[1] *Friends' Review*, vol. i. p. 281.

[2] This Memorial is printed in *Friends' Review*, vol. i. p. 343.

where rising in Great Britain and America, outside as well as inside the Society of Friends. The world had grown weary of war. The London Peace Society, in the membership of which Friends formed a prominent element, was formed in 1816, the year after Waterloo, though the movement for it began two years earlier. Joseph Tregelles Price and William Allen were the moving spirits in the formation of this famous Peace Society. Joseph Tregelles Price had owned a ship named *Clifton Union*, engaged in commerce during the Napoleonic wars, which was captured by a French privateer. When the captor boarded his prize he found no guns upon it nor weapons of any kind in it. He asked why the ship was at sea in war time absolutely unarmed, and was told that it was owned by Quakers, who neither believed in war nor availed themselves of its methods. The captain refused thereupon to take the ship. He released it from capture and allowed it to proceed with its load of coal to its home port unmolested. The circumstance so deeply affected the owner of the ship that he consulted with William Allen in Plough Court on the possibility of promoting the principle which had proved so effective in the case of his own ship. The result was the founding of the Peace Society.[1]

The American Peace Society, also with representative Friends in its membership, was organized in 1828, though long before that date local Peace Societies had been formed.[2] Before the middle of the century great Peace Congresses were held in Europe and earnestly considered the possibility of establishing a Court of the Nations for the settlement of all disputes by arbitration or arbitrament. It was a Friend, Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham, who first suggested the holding of international Peace Congresses. He made the suggestion at a great Peace Meeting held in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1841, that a series of Conventions or Congresses should be held

[1] This incident was related by Joseph Sturge on the occasion of his induction into the Presidency of the Society in 1858.

[2] The New York Peace Society antedates the London Society, having been organized in 1815.

from time to time "to deliberate upon the best methods of adjusting international disputes." On his return to London Joseph Sturge laid this "concern," backed by the favouring resolutions adopted in the Boston meeting, before the London Peace Society, which approved the plan and took positive action to promote it. A preliminary Convention was held in London in 1843, out of which grew the great Continental Congresses of the next decade. The first of these Peace Congresses was the one which met in Brussels in 1848.[1] Fifty members of the Society of Friends attended this famous gathering, which was followed by a still more famous Peace Congress in Paris in 1849. Victor Hugo presided over the Paris Congress, and electrified his hearers with the prophecy that "a day will come when those two immense groups, the United States of America and the United States of Europe, shall be seen extending the hand of fellowship across the ocean, exchanging their produce, their commerce, their industry, their arts, their genius, clearing the earth, peopling the deserts, meliorating the creation under the eye of the Creator, and uniting, for the good of all, these two irresistible and infinite powers, the fraternity of men and the power of God." But the most important feature on the programme was not the fervid eloquence of the romantic poet and novelist; it was the reading of a letter written by the Quaker banker, Samuel Gurney, packed with careful thought and solid with unanswerable economic arguments against war—an early and miniature sketch of "The Great Illusion."[2]

Congresses followed in the cities of Frankfort, London, Manchester and Edinburgh. The Frankfort Congress was held in 1850, at the moment when war was beginning beween Germany and Denmark over the possession of the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein. Dr. Bodenstein, of Berlin, a delegate to the Congress, entreated the Congress to appoint a commission of inquiry into the questions

[1] It was to have met in Paris, but revolutionary conditions in that city made the meeting impossible.

[2] It was read at the Congress by Joseph Sturge, to whom it was written.

at issue, in the hope that a peaceful settlement might be effected and war avoided. The Congress, however, had a standing provision that all "present political events must be avoided in the discussions." Joseph Sturge had a "concern" that a small group of persons present at the Congress should, on their own responsibility as individuals, approach both of the governments involved, to see if they could not bring about an arbitration of the dispute. It was the sort of mission one might expect Francis of Assisi or St. Bernard of Clairvaux to have undertaken. Joseph Sturge, Elihu Burritt of America, Frederic Wheeler of England, and Dr. Varrantrap of Germany composed the voluntary delegation. They were kindly received by both governments, were given favourable opportunity to present their plan, and seemed for a time likely to succeed. The political motives which prevailed, and the diplomatic schemes which were secretly formulated, in the end defeated their noble undertaking, and the issue had to be settled on the field of battle instead of in a Court of Arbitration. The mission, however, won Cobden's praise, and is a beautiful story in a good man's life.

As the shadow of the Crimean War began to darken over Europe, Joseph Sturge dared to hope that the tragedy might be averted by a visit of friendly mediation to the Czar of Russia. This "concern" of Joseph Sturge was laid before the London Meeting for Sufferings, which body, at a meeting held 17th January 1854, concluded to present an address from the Society of Friends to Nicholas, the Czar of Russia, and to appoint a delegation of Friends to be the bearers of it. Joseph Sturge, Henry Pease, and Robert Charleton were selected for this difficult and delicate service. The winter journey to St. Petersburg was full of hazard and required great physical endurance.[1] The impression made upon the mind of the Czar by the visit of the Quaker deputation was unquestionable. When at the close of the interview Joseph Sturge said with

[1] The thrilling story of the journey is told in Joseph Sturge's letters. See *Memoirs*, pp. 465-472.

much feeling: "We shall probably never see thee again this side of eternity, and we wish thee to know that there are those in England who desire thy temporal and spiritual welfare as sincerely as thy own subjects do," the eyes of the Czar filled with tears, and he seemed overcome with emotion. There appeared to be a sincere appreciation of the visit on the part both of the imperial family and of the high Russian officials. The answer to the address was kindly and generous, though the Czar did not share the pacific views of the visitors. The issues involved were too complicated by hate and distrust and selfishness to be settled by exchanges of kindly personal feeling in St. Petersburg. While these messengers of Christian love were pressing their desires for a peaceful settlement, the war spirit was sweeping over England, and the accounts of English sentiment reached Russia before the Friends had made their departure. The mission, surely one of the most unique in the entire history of the Society of Friends, failed in its ostensible purpose, but the sincere expression of love was never forgotten in Russia, and was not wholly lost, and, in spite of the furious assaults of the war press at home upon it, the mission of love made a deep impression upon the conscience and the imagination of serious-minded English people.

Out of the events of this same Crimean War came another mission of love which has left an undying memory —the mission of relief to Finland. In the course of the desolating progress of the war the British fleet, by actions which seemed at the time to transcend all known rules of warfare, if there are any such rules, burned, ravaged, and laid waste the towns and villages of Finland along the shores of the Gulf of Bothnia and the Baltic Sea. The condition of the inhabitants was pitiable in the extreme, and the suffering almost unendurable. The story of this tragedy reached Joseph Sturge and instantly roused him to action. In company with his friend, Thomas Harvey, of Leeds, he visited the region of desolation around the Gulf of Bothnia, and made a

careful survey of the most urgent needs of the people. He returned to England, organized a committee of management, and began the raising of a relief fund which he and his brother headed with a contribution of £1000. The distribution of the fund, which amounted to about £9000 ($45,000), was put in the hands of the London Meeting for Sufferings. Clothes, food, provision for shelter, fishing nets, seed corn for a new harvest, and other necessities, were supplied to the Finnish sufferers, and not only were their lives saved and their means of livelihood reorganized, but their embittered hearts were touched and softened. It is not strange that, when the fishermen and peasants of Finland heard three years later of the death of Joseph Sturge, their faces were wet with tears and their homes were full of mourning. Whittier, in his beautiful memorial poem, has described how at the death of Joseph Sturge

> The murmurous woe of kindreds, tongues and peoples
> Swept in on every gale.

And especially the cry of sorrow came

> From the locked roadsteads of the Bothnian peasants,
> And harbours of the Finn,
> Where war's worn victims saw his gentle presence
> Come sailing, Christ-like, in,
>
> To seek the lost, to build the old waste places,
> To link the hostile shores
> Of severing seas, and sow with England's daisies
> The moss of Finland's moors.[1]

The most effective peace influence which came from the Society in this middle period of the nineteenth century was undoubtedly that produced upon the minds of English-speaking people by the speeches of John Bright during the Crimean War period. Never before had a great moral cause found a more powerful voice. His words of unsurpassed eloquence, his depth of conviction, his championship of the rights and interests of the common

[1] "In Remembrance of Joseph Sturge." Whittier also wrote a beautiful poem on "The Conquest of Finland."

people who were being exploited in an unnecessary and futile war, all struck home into the hearts of men and enabled them to see war, at least that kind of war, in its naked horror.[1]

It would seem, perhaps, from this review of movements, that the Society of Friends was well prepared to meet the unexampled stress and strain of the American Civil War. With all the processes of weeding out of the membership, in times of former wars, those who did not stand absolutely true to the Quaker position, with the array of public documents which the Society had issued at times of crisis and with the splendid record of love and service in striking emergencies, one would be inclined to suppose that the entire Society would, in a new crisis, be an unbroken unit in its loyalty to the Peace Testimony. Such was not the case. The rank and file of the membership had hardly more than a traditional adherence to the peace position. They had given it very little personal penetrating consideration. It was for most an unexamined inheritance. Dymond had written a great essay on it, but most Friends did not read it. The consideration of peace and war at the times when the Queries were read was superficial and perfunctory. It did not reach the quick of the individual conscience. Peace meetings were dull, uninspired and uninteresting. Officially the Quaker record all ran one way—it voiced an unbroken peace testimony. In the lives of individual members, however, particularly in the lives of those who were in the commercial and political currents of the great world, the official view that war in all its forms was incompatible with the principles of religion, had not become a settled, dominant, first-hand conviction. This particular war made a peculiar appeal to a Friend and brought him into an unusual strait of choice. The Friends, and especially the younger members of the Society, had for more than a generation been champions of the freedom of the slaves. They had gradually come to feel that *this* cause of freedom

[1] This great epoch in the life of Bright is discussed at fuller length in the chapter on John Bright and J. G. Whittier.

was the supreme cause of their age. To promote that was one's first and highest duty. From the beginning of the struggle, after the election of Abraham Lincoln, for whom almost every Friend who had the suffrage had voted, it seemed clear to most members of the Society that the real issue was the overthrow of slavery. This conviction at once raised a collision of duties—duty to country and freedom on the one hand, and duty to the historic faith of the Society on the other. In the early period of the war, while the Union Army was composed of volunteers, a few Friends in almost every section of the country answered the call of President Lincoln. It is not possible to discover the total number of these Quaker volunteers, but all the Monthly Meeting records consulted show very few cases. New York City Monthly Meeting (Orthodox) had four members who had volunteered by April 1862 and eleven members a year later. Amawalk Monthly Meeting, a rural meeting in New York, had two cases of volunteering up to October 1863. Purchase Monthly Meeting in the same State had three volunteers up to 1863. A similar condition appears in most Monthly Meetings throughout the country, very few volunteers appearing in rural sections and more in city meetings.

In the summer of 1863 the method of conscription by draft was adopted by the government. It was an unpopular method in most parts of the country and was forcibly resisted in New York City. It brought Friends into very close straits. At first there was a provision by which Friends could procure exemption when drafted by the payment of three hundred dollars commutation money, which was intended to supply a substitute. All official bodies of the Society considered this an impossible solution of the difficulty. The following extracts from the minutes of Advice of the Meeting for Sufferings of Western Yearly Meeting is a characteristic way of dealing with the situation :

It has ever been an established principle in our Society, that the payment of military fines—or price of exemption from

military service—of providing substitutes for services required of us, is equivalent to the service itself, and therefore, we cannot in good conscience seek relief, by such means of exemption. We would therefore encourage our members to evince to all, in a meek, quiet, and Christian spirit that we are not actuated by any disaffection to our Government, but by a sense of the obligation we owe to our Heavenly Father.

When a Friend receives notice that he has been Drafted it is evident from the law, that he should in due time appear before the Provost Marshal—or Board of Enrolment, with the notice of Draft served on him, and then state his conscientious scruples against all wars and respectfully ask exemption on this ground, calmly submitting the issue.[1]

In a simple, straightforward Memorial to President Lincoln the Meeting for Sufferings of Western Yearly Meeting stated the position of Friends with perfect frankness. It says:

Your Memorialists desire also, to call your attention to the fact that while the Conscription Act, now being put into operation, provides relief by the payment of a pecuniary consideration to all who from whatever cause are disinclined to render personal service, it in no degree meets their case—in as much as they have always considered it impossible for them to compound, by the payment of money, for a service for the performance of which they feel restrained by the commands of our Saviour.[2]

The New York Meeting for Sufferings (Orthodox) had already taken a similar position as soon as it became evident that a conscription law was likely to pass Congress and sent a Memorial to Congress, adopted 24th February 1863, which formed the basis of the Memorial quoted above.

Individual Friends, however, did not feel the same scruple about paying commutation money and a considerable number of Friends took that course. They were usually disowned for unfaithfulness to the testimony of Friends as were those who volunteered for military service, though meetings were generally lenient where the individual expressed regret for his course and desired to be reinstated.

[1] From the minutes of Western Meeting for Sufferings for 21st July 1863.
[2] *Ibid.*, 21st July 1863.

From Westbury Monthly Meeting minutes, New York, comes the story of a Friend who refused to take the easy way. The case is as follows:

The Monthly Meeting appointed a Committee to collect account of the sufferings of Friends in the maintenance of our Christian testimonies against war. They found that quite a number of Friends were drafted for the army, but more were excused, and a few paid commutation fine. One young man bore his testimony against war by refusing to comply to any military requisitions. He resided at River Head, Long Island, and his name was Joseph G. Miller. He was drafted in 9th month 1863 and required to appear at Jamaica, Long Island, and a pass sent him to use in the Railroad, but he did not feel at liberty to use it, and paid his own fare arriving in the morning of the day appointed, and was kept all day near the door of the Court House. In the afternoon of the next day he was informed he must appear in nine days prepared to be enrolled as a soldier, or pay a fine of $300. In reply he said he could not pay the money, nor allow any one to do so for him, but would be there at the time appointed. He reported at the time and was told as some other Friends had paid the fine, he was acting wilfully to refuse to do so. He showed our Book of Discipline and pointed out that portion on bearing arms and paying fines in lieu thereof. He was then conducted to a house in the village where his clothes were exchanged for a soldier's uniform. He made no resistance, and was taken to a military board in the next room and was accosted by a man who had been active in the Court Room, and observed that he believed it to be the duty of every Christian to support the government, but a few words from Joseph, in reply to the question "What would become of the government and of us if we did not fight," appeared to have such an effect upon him that at Joseph's departure he took his hand and said, "If we could only feel as you do what a happy people we should be. Hold fast to your trust in God and all will be well," and then gave him his address with a request that he should write and inform him how he fared. Our Friend was then taken to the camps on Rikers Island without an overcoat, as he was not permitted to take his own, and did not feel at liberty to wear a military one. Having but one blanket, and being obliged to lie on the damp ground, he took severe cold from which he suffered much, as well as the severe treatment from officers because he would not observe the ordinary civility to them, which soldiers usually do. But when it became known that he was a Friend acting from conscientious scruples their

manner changed. In about three weeks he was removed to Governors Island, and in time allowed to resume his own clothes and required to do nothing contrary to his feelings. On the 11th of 11th Month he was liberated on parole. He said his lot had not been cast in a barren place during his confinement of two months, but that his faith had been increased in the sufficiency of that Power which would enable all who submitted to its influence to experience themselves the fulfilment of the prophetic declaration "And the Lord shall judge among many people and rebuke strong Nations, and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."[1]

As the difficulties of Friends under the draft law became clearly revealed, a strong effort was made by "concerned" Friends to secure from the government a more favourable provision for the members of the Society of Friends. Two members of Baltimore Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) visited Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary for War, in November 1863, and laid before him the sufferings which Friends were undergoing on account of the draft law. The Secretary showed much sympathy with his visitors, but he pointed out that under the existing laws neither he nor the President had the power to grant Friends complete and unconditional exemption. He therefore asked his visitors to call a conference of Friends representing the different Yearly Meetings in America for the purpose of formulating a plan to be laid before the Secretary for War for consideration. On his own part he suggested that a provision could be made to exempt Friends from military service on condition that each Friend who was drafted should pay $300 towards a special fund for the care of Freedmen, such payment not to be as in other cases to the District Provost Marshal but to his fiscal agent at Washington, to be credited on his books to the Freedmen, and that Friends could have the disbursement of it through their own agents and labourers. He expressed deep interest in the organized and individual efforts of Friends to alleviate the moral and

[1] Minutes for 6th April 1864.

physical condition of the manumitted slaves, and was willing to accept this medium as a relief for Friends from the draft, the only legal mode in his power. New England, New York, Baltimore, Ohio, Indiana and Western Yearly Meetings sent delegates to the Conference suggested by Secretary Stanton, which met in Baltimore 7th December 1863, with twenty-five Friends present. The following minute was adopted unanimously by the delegates:

> We believe it right for us first to record our united sense and judgment that Friends continue to be solemnly bound unswervingly to maintain our ancient faith and belief that war is forbidden in the gospel; and that as followers of the Prince of Peace we cannot contribute to its support or in any way participate in its spirit; that to render other service as an equivalent for, or in lieu of, requisitions for military purposes is a compromise of a vital principle which we feel conscientiously bound to support under all circumstances, and notwithstanding any trials to which we may be subjected.

A committee of three—Francis T. King of Baltimore, Samuel Tobey of New England, and Charles F. Coffin of Indiana—were appointed by the Conference to visit Secretary Stanton and to lay their conclusion before him. He received them kindly, heard their decision that they could not recommend Friends to pay money under any arrangement to escape the draft. He was equally firm on his part, and declared that the plan which he had offered was the only hope which Friends could expect of securing relief.[1] In spite of the refusal of the Baltimore Conference to endorse a money payment to the Freedmen's Fund as a way of escape from the draft, such a provision was introduced by Secretary Stanton into the next new draft law. It did not satisfy official Friends in any of the Yearly Meetings, but individual Friends in many instances made use of this provision to avoid the other two alternatives—military service on the one hand, or court-martial and imprisonment on the other.

There were a few cases of superb bravery on the part

[1] An account of the visit of this delegation is given in the minutes of Baltimore Meeting for Sufferings, also those of Indiana.

of young Friends, who, in obedience to what they believed to be the command of conscience, took their lives in their hands and refused to be implicated in any way in acts contributory to warfare. Peter Dakin of Bridgeport, Vermont, was one such case. He stated very emphatically to the Board of Enrolment of his district what his views were, and the foundation of religious faith upon which he stood. His Monthly Meeting strongly supported him with a supplementary statement to the Board in which they said :

> We the undersigned members of Ferrisburg Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends (commonly called Quakers) respectfully represent to the Board that one of our members, Peter Dakin, has been drafted in your district, and we believe him to be honest and sincere in our well-known principles that war is inconsistent with the Christian religion, being plainly prohibited by the teachings of our Saviour, and that they therefore feel that for this reason alone they cannot perform military service of any kind, or furnish a substitute to do so, or pay any equivalent to be used in furnishing one, that this has been the belief of our Society, and for its consistent maintenance for over two hundred years our members have been made sufferers in different parts of the world.[1]

Dakin was refused exemption by the Board as there was no legal provision for it except upon payment of the commutation money which his conscience would not permit him to pay. At about the same time another Vermont Friend, Cyrus Pringle, was drafted and refused either to perform military service, or to pay or have paid for him, the required commutation money. Together with a third Friend of that region, Lindley M. Macomber, who was in a similar situation, they were taken by train to Boston, where, in a military camp, vigorous measures were employed to break down their opposition to the performance of military duties, and to force them to conform. After enduring much suffering and reproach in the Massachusetts camp, the three Friends were transported, with the regiment to which they were assigned, to Washington, D.C., and were there subjected to still more

[1] Taken from the minutes of Ferrisburg M.M., 30th July 1863.

severe treatment. They faced the possibility of death if they persisted in their disobedience to military orders, but they took the uttermost stand. Attempts were finally made to induce them to undertake alternative service in military hospitals, which at first they were inclined to accept as a way out of their difficulties. The alternative service soon proved, at least to their sensitive consciences, to involve submission to military authority, and the three Friends declared that they could not go on with it, even if death were to be imposed upon them for their decision. At length President Lincoln, who heard the story of their trials and sufferings, took the matter in his own hands and sent an urgent request to Secretary Stanton to send the Friends to their homes on an indefinite parole, which was done.[1]

Henry D. Swift of New England Yearly Meeting was drafted and refused to pay for his exemption. He was sent from his home in South Dedham, Massachusetts, to a military camp at Concord in the same State. He absolutely refused to take part in the military drill, and was put in the guard-house for disobedience. He was sent to the Long Island military camp. Here he performed voluntary service in the hospital, declining all remuneration for it, but he persisted in refusing to obey military orders. He was "bucked down," a most uncomfortable form of military punishment, and finally, he was taken to the guard-house, made to witness the execution of a man, threatened with death himself, tried by court-martial and sentenced to be shot. On the intercession of two New England Friends, who gave the facts to President Lincoln, the latter issued an order giving Henry Swift parole "until called for."[2] There were many other

[1] The story of the experiences of these three Vermont Friends is vividly told in the personal diary written by Cyrus Pringle. It has been edited by the present author, and is published under the title *The Record of a Quaker Conscience* (New York, 1918). Three New England Friends, two of them members of the Wilburite Yearly Meeting of N.E., and the other a Friend from the State of Maine, after varied experiences in a Long Island camp, were granted parole "until called for" by President Lincoln. The details of this interesting case are told in a little book edited by Ethan Foster with the title *Conscript Quakers* (Cambridge, Mass., 1883).

[2] This case is told in the *Bulletin of Friends Hist. Soc.*, vol. vii. no. 1, p. 37.

similar cases of risk and suffering for the sake of being true to conviction, and in all instances which came to his attention President Lincoln showed the same sympathetic interest, and the same desire to prevent the infliction of suffering upon those who were resisting the military system on the ground of deep-seated, sincere, religious conviction. A considerable number of Friends escaped the harrowing experience of military camps and guard-houses by the refusal of local officials to proceed against them when their religious views were thoroughly recognized. Upon receipt of official information that they were "drawn" under the conscription law, Friends quite frequently reported to the proper officials that in no case could they accept military service or pay commutation money, that they were estopped by their conscience from going voluntarily to camp, but that they could always be found at their home, the address being plainly given, where the officer could come for them if in his judgment they must be taken to the camp. Under those circumstances officers in many cases found a way to avoid the extreme step, and the Friend remained unmolested.[1]

There were, however, a large number of Friends, as has been implied, who did not stand rigidly for the absolutist position of the "remnant," the inner group dedicated to the spiritual ideals of the Society. Some few accepted the requirement of the draft; others took the easy way of paying commutation money, though under both these courses they were pretty sure in the end to be disowned by their Monthly Meeting. It has in recent times (1917) been asserted that the number of Friends engaged in the Civil War in proportion to the membership of the Society was greater than that represented by any other religious denomination in America. There is no historical evidence whatever to justify such a statement. The "deviations" from the historical testimony of Friends

[1] Joseph S. Elkinton of Philadelphia took this course of procedure and was never called for. William Burgess, a member of Miami M.M., Ohio, was drafted while attending school at Union Springs, New York, 24th of July 1863. He informed the officers of his conscientious opposition to all military service. He was treated with respect, and after sixteen days he was "paroled until called for."

were more numerous than one would have expected in a conservative body which made the testimony an absolutely essential feature of its faith. But even so, when all the cases are counted, especially when one considers the powerful patriotic appeal and the devotion of Friends to the freedom of the slaves, the total number appears small.

The extent to which Friends conformed with military requirements can be discovered with approximate certainty from the annual reports made by the subordinate meetings to the Yearly Meeting in answer to the Query, "Are Friends clear of complying with military requisitions and of paying any fine or tax instead thereof?"[1] The report from all the Quarterly Meetings in New England shows that forty-three Friends enlisted up to the time of holding Yearly Meeting in 1863—covering the period of volunteering. There were probably a few more sporadic cases not reported. Twenty of these enlisted Friends had already been disowned, and seven were under "dealing."[2] The reports in answer to this Query in New York Yearly Meeting (Hicksite) show the following small "delinquencies," *i.e.* exceptions, for the two most critical years of the war, 1863 and 1864, throughout the entire area of the Yearly Meeting:

1863. Ten cases of joining the army (one of which since relinquished connection therewith), seven of being engaged in military services, four of complying with military requisitions (one being tax unintentionally paid), and several cases of paying bounty tax under state law and contributing to funds to encourage volunteers are reported. Excepting these, the Quarters [*i.e.* Quarterly Meetings] say their members are clear of complying with military requisitions and of paying any fine or tax instead thereof.

1864. Twenty cases are reported of Friends paying the commutation fine, eight of enlistment, six of being identified with

[1] This was the 7th Query in most of the American Disciplines. In some Disciplines it was the 6th Query.

[2] *Minutes of New England Y.M.* for 1863, p. 17. Providence M.M. minutes during the period of the war show that seven members of that meeting engaged in some form of military service, and one paid commutation money. They appear to have all been disowned. Smithfield M.M., a large rural Monthly Meeting in Rhode Island and central Massachusetts, had only two members who engaged in military service. They were disowned.

military organizations, several of paying a bounty tax, and one of obtaining recruits for the army. With these exceptions, Friends appear to be clear of complying with military requisitions and of paying any fine or tax in lieu thereof. In some of the deficiencies care has been extended.

The reports of Indiana Yearly Meeting show a much larger number, but even so the proportion of army volunteers to the total membership was very small. Five Quarterly Meetings reported in the autumn of 1862 that one hundred Friends are "engaged in bearing arms and doing military service." The other Quarterly Meetings (of which there were ten) reported "a considerable number," but no figures are given. It is possible that there were three hundred members of Indiana Yearly Meeting—the total membership being over twenty thousand—engaged in military service. The accounts say that "in these deficiencies some care has been taken."[1] In 1864 the reports declare that "some Friends have paid commutation money, and some have paid fines in lieu of mustering," and reports indicate that these "deficiencies" are being looked after by the Overseers.[2]

The Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings (Orthodox) reported to the Yearly Meeting in April 1864 that "about one hundred Friends, members of this Yearly Meeting, were drafted." The account goes on to say that for many of them "the commutation money was paid by persons not members, and without the consent or connivance of the parties. In a few instances only it was paid by the drafted Friends, or a substitute hired, which will doubtless claim the attention of the overseers of the meetings where such persons belong."[3]

The Hicksite Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting maintained a clear official testimony throughout the period of the Civil War, and their members appear to have stood

[1] *Indiana Printed Minutes* for 1862, p. 16.

[2] *Ibid.* for 1864, p. 12. The Monthly Meeting minutes supply very little information. An elderly Friend in the limits of Miami M.M. remembers that two members of that M.M. (Orthodox) volunteered for service, one was drafted and served, and one allowed his commutation money to be paid. None was disowned.

[3] *Extracts from the Minutes of Phila. Y.M.* for 1864, pp. 3, 4.

the test as well as Friends in other localities and in other branches did. In 1863 the Yearly Meeting, through a Committee, issued a statement of position which contained this message:

> In this day of treading down and laying waste some of our precious testimonies, Friends are counselled to advise and persuade the indifferent, rather than to censure or reprove. Our hearts have been drawn toward the young men with fervent desire that there may be found not a few of these who are willing to become soldiers of the Cross of Christ. The Church has need of you.

Friends are also reminded that:

> The Church of Christ was intended . . . to bear testimony to the peaceable nature of Christ's kingdom. This is more important to mankind, and to us individually, than any temporal blessing. We believe our Society was raised up to bear this testimony, and that it is our duty, without entering into condemnation of others, to be faithful to our mission.[1]

In objecting to the requirements of the Conscription Act of Pennsylvania these Friends very clearly expressed their dissatisfaction with the payment of money for exemption or for substitutes.[2] In 1864 the Meeting for Sufferings of this body sent a delegation to Washington bearing a memorial to President Lincoln, and to the two Houses of Congress, in which they maintained the ground of their testimony, and endeavoured to secure a modification of the conscription law to meet the conscientious feelings of non-combatants. Among those who felt it a duty to offer passive resistance to the draft was Jesse W. Griest, who was imprisoned at York, Pennsylvania, for refusing to take part in military drill, or to pay what was then called "muster fine." William P. Bancroft, of Wilmington, Delaware, informed the draft board at Smyrna, Delaware, that he did not feel it right for him to enter the army, or to get a substitute, or to pay $300 commutation fine. Judge Leonard E. Wales reasoned without effect with the conscript upon the necessity of war. "Some one,"

[1] *Exercises of Y.M.* for 1863, p. 65.
[2] See *Friends' Intelligencer*, vol. xx. p. 614.

writes William Bancroft, "without my knowledge and without my desire, paid the commutation money for me."

The Monthly Meetings of this body at the close of the war sent a letter to their members who had violated Friends' testimony against war, and expressed their desire to deal with them "in the spirit of restoring love." This letter generally elicited an acknowledgment of regret from the member, and a desire on his part to retain his membership. Race Street Monthly Meeting, with 1210 members, received 32 such acknowledgments, all of which were accepted. Green Street Monthly Meeting had 19; Chester Monthly Meeting had 12, and all members were retained in both meetings. Many of the acknowledgments showed depth of insight and a conviction born of the experience as to what real war meant.

Early in the Civil War, September 1861, the Monthly Meeting (Hicksite) at Lincoln, Virginia, deputed Samuel M. Janney, Jesse Hoge and Elisha Janney to lay before Fairfax Monthly Meeting a statement of principles in regard to war, so that the two meetings might unite in removing public misapprehensions as to the views of Friends. This statement, after reciting the origin of the Peace testimony, declares:

> We deem it our religious duty to take no part in the war now unhappily raging. . . . The religion we profess, and, as we conceive, the true spirit of Christianity, forbid our doing any act in opposition to the laws of the government under which we live; yet laws might be passed, with which our clear sense of religious duty would forbid our active compliance, even under the heaviest penalty.

At the ensuing Baltimore Yearly Meeting (Hicksite), October 1861, a deep exercise overspread the Meeting, and the desire was published:

> That Friends everywhere may give evidence that they are followers of the Prince of Peace, that they have an abiding faith in the protective power of our Heavenly Father, who will not suffer His dependent children to be tried further than He gives ability to sustain.

The following interesting minute was adopted by

Baltimore Yearly Meeting (Hicksite) in the autumn of 1862:

Many of our members who reside in Virginia have been subjected to great trials. . . . Some of them have been arrested by the military authorities of the Southern States, and held as prisoners for a time. Among these, our beloved Friend, Job Throckmorton, was one whose sufferings excited general sympathy. While on his way to attend the Monthly Meeting at Hopewell, he was arrested by the soldiery, and with many other prisoners who had not been bearing arms, he was subjected to fatiguing marches and great privations which resulted in his death. His pure and blameless life was such that we have no doubt he laid down his head in peace and has entered into eternal rest. At Woodlawn, a branch of Alexandria Monthly Meeting, the meeting-house, during the whole of last winter, was occupied by Federal troops: on First-days Friends assembled in the meeting-house with the soldiers, who carefully prepared the house and expressed a desire that the meetings should be kept up. At Waterford, a part of the meeting-house was, for many months, occupied by the Southern soldiers, while another part was reserved for the Friends. The officers and some of the soldiers usually attended, behaved with decorum, and at times expressed their cordial appreciation of these seasons of religious exercise.[1]

When a delegation of North Carolina Friends visited Jefferson Davis and a Committee of the Confederate Congress at Richmond to secure some act of relief for Friends, a member of the Congressional Committee said to them: "Doubtless your people are in the Northern Army fighting against us. Why should not you join us in fighting them?" Isham Cox of the Quaker delegation answered immediately: "I am not afraid to agree to fight single-handed every true Friend in the Northern Army!"[2]

In the South the crisis was much more acute, the suffering was vastly greater, and the loyalty of Friends to the Quaker testimony was much more nearly unbroken. Every male Friend of military age, eighteen to fifty,[3] and of sound health, in North Carolina, Virginia and Tennessee sooner or later had to go through the fiery

[1] Taken from the *Printed Minutes* for 1862.

[2] Quoted from F. G. Cartland's *Southern Heroes; or Friends in War Time* (Cambridge, Mass., 1895), p. 128.

[3] The age varied at different periods of the war, as we shall see.

baptism. To every man and to every family the hour of hard crisis came. The test and the sufferings entailed upon these Friends for their faithfulness were more severe than had ever been the case in any war before in the history of the Society. The great majority of the Friends who passed through this ordeal belonged to North Carolina Yearly Meeting, though there were groups of Friends in southern Virginia, in Richmond and in Loudoun county, not far from Washington, D.C. All these Virginia Friends belonged to the two Baltimore Yearly Meetings (Orthodox and Hicksite). Their cases of suffering were ably dealt with by efficient Committees, and they were not forced to pass through such desperate experiences as those which Friends farther south endured. In the first year of the war (December 1861) "an ordinance concerning test oaths and sedition" was introduced in the Legislature of North Carolina by which every free male citizen of the State was required to appear publicly and renounce all allegiance to the government of the United States, and to agree to support, maintain and *defend* the government of the Confederate States. Influential Friends succeeded in getting the position of the Society ably presented in the Legislature and the ordinance failed to become law, but Friends at once found themselves in a most anomalous position. They were, to an individual, opposed to slavery, and therefore opposed to secession, which, if successful, would make slavery a permanent institution in the Confederacy. In the period of volunteering, they, who of course never volunteered, were naturally unpopular, though they were unmolested, and many of them, in this less drastic stage, succeeded in migrating to northern communities. The introduction of conscription, which first became law in the summer of 1862, with ever-increasing demands and requisitions until the end of the war, brought Friends face to face with the crisis of their lives. The only chance for exemption from fighting was to be secured by the payment of $500. North Carolina Yearly Meeting, at its session following the passage of the draft law of 1862, declared its

judgment that "We cannot conscientiously pay the specified tax, it being imposed upon us on account of our principles, as the price exacted of us for religious liberty," though at the same time the minute expressed appreciation of the good intentions of the Confederate Congress, and recommended that Friends who felt free to use the provision of the law, to escape the dreaded evils of the military camp, should be "treated in a tender manner by their Monthly Meetings."[1] Some Friends took this way out of the hard dilemma, though most of the members felt that they could not do so, and chose instead the difficult path of suffering for their faith.

A large number of Friends of draft age[2] took the precarious method of "bushwhacking" as their way of avoiding military service. The "bushwhacker" was a person who left his home and lived as best he could in the woods and bushes, hiding in caves, and eating whatever could be found or was supplied by kind friends. The "bushwhacker" was often hunted, was always in danger of being apprehended, and he frequently exposed his family to the severe peril of retaliation. Yancey Cox of Holly Spring, only seventeen years old, was forced into service. He refused to wear military clothes or carry a gun, and finally after pitiable sufferings he made his escape with twenty-seven others and hid in a dense wood along Deep River, where these "bushwhackers" slept in piles of leaves for covering. For a year this band of men lived this "bushwhacking" life not far away from their own homes. Yancey Cox's parents were tortured in order to extort from them the secret of their son's hiding-place, but they refused through all their suffering to divulge it, and the boy escaped detection until Lee's surrender brought him freedom.

J. J. Allen evaded his hunters in the woods for twenty-two months. When, however, he discovered that his parents were being tortured and punished on his account,

[1] *An Account of the Sufferings of Friends of North Carolina Y.M.* (Baltimore, 1868), p. 19. This was re-issued in London the same year.

[2] In the Act of 1862 the age was 18 to 35; in the Act of 1863 it was 18 to 45, and in the Act of 1864 it was 17 to 50.

he surrendered and was taken to Raleigh, where attempts were made to force him to perform service. He made his escape from the camp and succeeded in getting away to Indiana. The number of "bushwhackers" was very large. A few Friends were sent, as a last resort of compulsion, to the prison camps where the prisoners captured from the Northern Army were confined. The names of these prison pens are burned into the consciousness of many readers: "Libby," "Danville," "Salisbury," "Andersonville." Solomon Frazier of Randolph County, a member of Centre Meeting, refusing to perform any service was taken to Salisbury Prison and commanded to act as guard for the prisoners. He refused to obey and was committed to the prison. The story of his sufferings is told in *Southern Heroes*, as follows:

He was a large, strong man, and they thought he might do effective work fighting the Yankees, but how to get him to do it was the question. First, the bucking-down was resorted to for two hours; then they made him carry a heavy pole for three hours; at night they tied him up as they would a horse or mule. Next morning he was suspended by his hands instead of his thumbs, whether on account of his weight or not we cannot say. In this painful position he was kept for three hours. They tied a gun to his right arm and a heavy piece of wood to his neck. Unable to stand longer under the weight of the wood he sat down, resting one end of it upon the ground. A soldier immediately pierced him with a bayonet. They then bucked him down again, and while in this painful position, he says that they proceeded to gag him with a bayonet. This was done by throwing his head back and putting the bayonet in his mouth, the sharp edge pressing the lips as it was tied tightly to the back of his head. In this doubly trying position, bucked and gagged, they kept him for the remainder of the day.

As if determined to exhaust every means of punishment, they tied his arms to a beam fastened to a post, like a cross, and raised him upon it in imitation of the Christ for whom he suffered. They then put upon him what they called a barrel-shirt. They put a barrel over his head, and the barrel not being large enough to slip down to the ground, rested in such a way as to fasten both arms and legs; and there he was left to stand for hours.

Solomon Frazier was so meek, and endured all their persecu-

tions with such patience, that the captain under whose charge he was got very angry, swore at him with most terrible oaths, and told him it was useless to contend further; he must now take a gun or die. While the officer was tying a gun to his arm, Solomon remarked to him: "If it is thy duty to inflict this punishment upon me, do it cheerfully; don't get angry about it." The captain then left him, saying to his men: "If any of you can make him fight, do it; I cannot."

Two young men now volunteered to make a soldier of this Quaker, little knowing the nature of the material which they had to work upon. Coming up to him with their guns they told him that they were going to take him off and shoot him. He replied: "It is the Sabbath and as good a day to die as any." They took him before Colonel Brooks, who inclined to be merciful, and was disposed to get clear of so troublesome a case. He advised him to consult a lawyer, and, if possible, to procure exemption; but assured him positively that he must take a gun or die. Two days' respite from persecution were given him, when he was called up and required to take a gun. Upon refusing, the gun was tied to his arm, and a strap fastened around his neck, by which he was dragged around all day. He was made to run around in a circle, much as we have seen horsemen train horses. The next day they again resorted to the bucking, with no better success.

Isham Cox, a prominent minister among the Friends, visited the prison at this time, remonstrated with the officials for practising such cruelty, and explained more fully to their understanding the grounds of Solomon's faith. Hearing this they concluded that it was useless to try to make a soldier of him, and ceased to persecute him, though he was retained as a prisoner until the surrender of Salisbury, four months afterwards.[1]

Another Friend who was imprisoned in the Salisbury Pen was Tilghman R. Vestal of Tennessee. The Friends of Tennessee belonged at this time to North Carolina Yearly Meeting, and though their straits were not quite as hard as was the case of their fellow-members the other side of the mountains, yet many Tennessee Friends had much to endure. Quite a number of them left their homes and lived in caves to avoid being conscripted, the two most famous hiding-places being Providence Cave and Cudjo's Cave.

[1] *Southern Heroes*, pp. 202-204.

Young Vestal was conscripted early in the war, but as he would not fight he was temporarily sent home. He was conscripted again in 1863, and many efforts were made in vain by prominent Friends to secure his release. He was court-martialled and sentenced to be punished until he would consent to bear arms. His story is told in *Southern Heroes*:

The officer began promptly to use severe means, but Tilghman calmly told him that he was a Christian and could not fight. The officer knocked him down repeatedly and otherwise abused him, but as he utterly failed to induce Vestal to obey orders, he gave him up and turned him over to the second officer, telling him perhaps he could make him fight. After unsuccessful attempts to overcome Vestal by knocking him down, the second officer pierced him with a bayonet, and threatened to run him through if he would not take a gun. He ran the murderous steel into Vestal's side, and then stopped to ask if he would consent to serve as a soldier. Meeting with a calm but positive refusal, he continued to wound him in other places. Seventeen times the resolute soldiers of the army pierced the unresisting soldier of Jesus Christ, and each time they met with a refusal to accede to their demands. Some of the wounds were deep, but the heroic sufferer was the victor.

Finding it impossible to make a soldier of him, they sent Vestal to Richmond, Va., where he was placed in Castle Thunder. Little attention was at first paid to his suffering condition, but some of the prisoners, having learned of his sad state, and the cause of it, were touched by sympathy for him, and did what their limited means would allow for his relief. They sent petitions one after another to the authorities imploring clemency in his case. But the relief of unfortunate and suffering prisoners seemed to be no part of the business of the keepers of southern military prisons, and they paid no heed to these petitions. Instead, they decided to be rid of Vestal by sending him farther south to Salisbury Prison in North Carolina, where the prospect was that he would be speedily relieved from his suffering by death.

Tilghman Vestal, with the marks of eighteen wounds upon him, weakened and suffering by a wearisome journey, was introduced into Salisbury Prison. As he was naturally a tidy person, the filthiness of the place was shocking to him. No opportunity to preserve cleanliness was allowed to the prisoners, and the more filthy and covered with vermin a prisoner became, the

sooner could he be taken away to help fill the long trenches dug one after another on the hillside.

On one occasion as Vestal was endeavouring to remove the vermin from his person, which, as we have learned, it would be impossible to prevent from crawling upon him, the inhuman keeper of the prison discovered him thus employed, and with fearful oaths began to abuse him. Growing angry as he talked, the officer beat Vestal over the head until the blood ran down his shoulders upon his already wounded and sore body.

After having been confined for six weeks in this terrible place, T. R. Vestal was liberated through the instrumentality of Friends, whose strenuous efforts had hitherto been unsuccessful, and he was placed in the Friends' School at New Garden, North Carolina.[1]

As the war progressed many serious-minded persons who were opposed to slavery, and who in some measure shared the Quaker interpretation of Christianity, were drawn into close sympathy with Friends and applied for membership with them. It was clearly understood that no person who joined the Society after the Act was passed which exempted from military service on payment of $500 could receive the benefits of this provision. Notwithstanding the fact that acceptance into membership brought no legal privileges, and often on the contrary raised suspicion and hostility, no less than six hundred persons were received into membership by application during the period of war.[2] Some of the most terrible cases of persecution and suffering are those wreaked upon some of these new members who had become Friends by conviction. Jesse Buckner is an interesting case of the above type. He was not always consistent, he only gradually achieved the spirit of the Quaker testimony, but in the end he was ready to bear and suffer anything for his new-found faith. At the opening of the war he was a Baptist and a Colonel of Militia.

He threw himself eagerly into the Southern cause and began to raise volunteer companies. The refusal of some Friends to join in a parade led him to examine the ground which they held. The result was, that he first hesitated to order the captains of the

[1] *Southern Heroes*, pp. 319, 320.
[2] See *An Account of Sufferings*, etc., p. 11.

different companies to enrol the Friends, and soon after, in the Fall of 1861, he resigned his own commission, under a full persuasion that "it was not right to slay his fellow-men." Starting on a dark night not long after to attend a political meeting, to be held near him, he lost his way, and wandering, in no small distress of mind, he reached at last the public road, and the steps of a building which proved to be the Friends' Meeting-House. While seated there alone, in solemn meditation, he became satisfied that it was his duty to unite himself with the people who worshipped there. Delaying a little to perform the vow which he had at that time made, on the 6th of Third Month, 1862, he was drafted. He evaded the search made for him by escaping into another county. Venturing to return in the Eighth Month he was for some time unmolested. He was received into membership with Friends in the First Month, 1863. He soon after paid the exemption tax. But the enmity which followed his decided course, and which had been hitherto singularly held in check, now had its way. Early in the next year his exemption was revoked by a sub-officer, and he was sent under guard to Camp Holmes, near Raleigh, and then to Wilmington, where for four weeks he suffered much abuse. But his spirit was so far changed that he was able to endure it meekly, and even literally when smitten on the one cheek turned the other also. A petition for his release from his friends proving ineffectual, he resolved to escape. After a perilous journey on foot of 200 miles, he reached his home, only to be recaptured the next morning, and was soon again at Wilmington under still more cruel treatment. Believing that he had erred in his hasty escape, he now became resigned to whatever they might be able to inflict. An alarming illness, which brought him to the brink of the grave, led to his discharge. Upon his recovery he was again ordered to camp, and put in jail for a week. Passed on again as a prisoner from camp to camp, he had, in each place, to bear his testimony amid sneers and taunts and cruel threats. At times he met with kinder treatment, and was allowed such work as he could conscientiously perform. He was finally released by the surrender of Johnston's army, after having, for three years, endured peril and hardness, and, for the last year, almost continuous persecution.[1]

The cases of those Friends who were forced into camps and battle-lines, and compelled to face the horrors of a war they would not assist in fighting, were numerous, but only one specimen instance can be given here. The case of William Hockett reveals as well as any the kind

[1] *An Account of the Sufferings of Friends*, pp. 13, 14.

of testing these men passed through and the type of spirit by which they lived.[1] He was arrested in the summer of 1863, was again and again urged to pay his exemption money, was very roughly treated because of his refusal, and finally, having disobeyed all orders, he was sentenced to be shot. His own account of this trial is vivid:

Second Day, the 23rd of 6th month. This evening I was before Colonel Kirkland. He asked me what I wanted. I told him that I desired a discharge or release from the army that I might go home. He wanted to know how much money I would give him to let me off. I told him I could not give him any, but if he saw proper to release me I would give him goodwill. He asked me if I was not worth $500. I told him that my property was worth that or more. He said the authorities of North Carolina had sent me out there as a man capable of making a soldier, and that I would have to comply with orders or he would order me shot, and said I might take a gun and go into the ranks, or he would order me shot that evening or the next morning, and I might take my choice. I told him that I would not take a gun nor march in the drill, so he said: "Which will you choose, to be shot evening or morning?" I told him I should choose neither, but if my God whom I served permitted him to take my life I would submit to it; I would die a martyr for Christ's sake. He said he had full power, without permission, to kill me if I did not comply. I told him I did not deny that he had, so far as the power of man extended, but there was a power above man's, and he could not remove a hair of my head without my Heavenly Father's notice. He wanted to know if I was a good workman. I told him I was counted a passable hand. He said I was the very man for him and he had the very place to put me; it was to go to the wagon-yard and work there. It would not be hard work, and he wanted to hear a good report from Captain Vogler. I told him that I would receive no appointment to work at anything that was to carry on war. He ordered me to say no more but to go to the wagons, and sent a man to take me to Captain Vogler of the wagon train. He told me to go and mow grass for the horses, but I refused on conscientious grounds. They said that I should be shot. I said that my God told me not to do so, and that I feared Him more than what they could do. So when they found that I

[1] Hockett's case is given in *An Account of Sufferings*, pp. 21 and 22, and in *Southern Heroes*, pp. 232 *seq.*

would not comply they sent me back to camp, saying that they had no use for such a fellow. They then reported me to the colonel, who said that he would have me shot that night or the next morning.

6th month 24th. I was ordered out and required to fall in line with the company and drill, but I refused. They tried to make me and I sat down on the ground. They reminded me of the orders to shoot me, but I told them my God said to fear them not that kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather to fear him that is able to destroy both soul and body in hell. The company was then ordered to fall back eight paces, leaving me in front of them. They were then ordered by Colonel Kirkland to "Load; Present arms; Aim," and their guns were pointed directly at my breast. I raised my arms and prayed: "Father, forgive them; they know not what they do." Not a gun was fired. They lowered them without orders, and some of them were heard to say that they "could not shoot such a man." The order was then given, "Ground arms."

The officers having consulted together, the captain soon came to me with two men, bringing a gun and a cartridge-box with thirty rounds of ammunition. The captain said: "Now take these and join ranks." Refusing to do so, the soldiers tied them on me and strapped the gun to my back, and the captain ordered me to rise and walk in drill; but I refused.

An officer then swore he would ride over me, and made many efforts to do so, but failed, for his horse could not be made to step on me. At one time he carefully placed his foot between my arm and my side, without in the least injuring me. The captain struck me on the back of the head with the heavy end of a gun, and although I was stunned by the blow I soon got over it and never felt it afterwards. The captain ordered two men to take me to the ranks forty or fifty yards away, but I did not feel free to walk in that direction.[1]

For weeks after these experiences were endured, he was subjected to every expedient known to army men for breaking down a conscientious objector, but still William Hockett stood his ground. At length he found himself on the field of Gettysburg and in the terrific throes of that great battle. He fell into the hands of the northern army and was taken with other prisoners of war to Fort Delaware, where to his joy he found four other North Carolina Friends, from Holly Springs, who had

[1] *Southern Heroes*, pp. 236-239.

been through similar experiences to his own.[1] Through the kindly visits and the intercession of Friends from Philadelphia and Wilmington these long-suffering conscript men were released from their prison and given liberty to go to Wilmington and Philadelphia, where they were well cared for until the war was over.

I shall give only one more case of suffering, this time unto death—the case of Seth W. Loflin. He was arrested in 1864 with a number of other Friends who belonged to Marlboro and Springfield Meetings, and he was taken with them to the entrenchments near Petersburg, Virginia.

Upon his arrival he was ordered to take up arms. This he refused to do, and as a punishment was kept from sleep for thirty-six hours. As this did not move him, for about a week after he was daily bucked down for some length of time and then suspended by the thumbs for an hour and a half. Being still firm in his refusal to fight he was court-martialled and ordered to be shot. A little scaffold was prepared on which he was placed, and the men were drawn up in line ready to execute the sentence, when he prayed, "Father forgive them; for they know not what they do." Upon hearing this they lowered their guns and he was thrust into prison. Not long after he was sent to Winder Hospital, at Richmond, Va., where after a long and suffering illness the end came in his peaceful release for a mansion in heaven. A few lines from an officer in the regiment to which he had been assigned closed the suspense of an afflicted family, when his widow and his seven children were left with little other legacy than the like precious faith. "It is my painful duty to inform you that Seth W. Loflin died in Winder Hospital, at Richmond, on the 8th of December, 1864. He died as he had lived, a true, humble, and devoted Christian, true to his faith and religion. . . . We pitied him and sympathized with him . . . but he is rewarded for his fidelity and is at rest."[2]

One of the most interesting converts to the Quaker faith and the Quaker peace position which the stress of the war produced was Rufus P. King. He was born at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, was eighteen years old

[1] They were Thomas Hinshaw, Jacob Hinshaw, Nathan Barker and Cyrus Barker.

[2] *An Account of Sufferings of Friends*, p. 17.

when the war began, and found himself drafted into service at nineteen. He had never heard of Friends and he had grown up without any opportunities for education, though he possessed as native traits a gentle heart and a kindly, sympathetic nature. The captain under whom he served was taken very ill before their regiment had seen any fighting, and Rufus nursed him and was detailed to take him home and take care of him. On the way home it was found that he was suffering with a dreaded disease —yellow fever—from which he died before reaching home. Rufus took the body home and gave it burial, and continued for three months at Chapel Hill, acting with much simplicity as though his military service were over. In the meantime his experiences with the dying captain, and his own almost miraculous escape from death by the same disease, deeply affected his mind, and at a series of Methodist revival meetings he was converted and profoundly changed. As he read his New Testament he was impressed with the feeling that he could not take the life of any one. In this state of mind he was called back to the regiment and arrived in time to be present through the three days of the Gettysburg battle. Only three hundred of the thousand men of his regiment survived the battle. His lieutenant was mortally wounded, and, with bullets flying thickly around him, Rufus knelt by his friend and offered his first public prayer. When he finished praying he found a large group of wounded and dying soldiers who had crept up to hear the words of the prayer. Rufus was captured by Union troops and taken to Point Lookout, where he remained for a year nursing sick soldiers and performing the last kind services for those who were dying, as he had done on the field of battle for his lieutenant. In 1864 he was exchanged with many other prisoners, and he was soon conscripted back into the southern army. He could no longer fight, and in his hard strait he deserted to the Union army and was allowed to make his way to Indiana. Here for the first time he became acquainted with Friends, and in 1866 he was accepted into membership in Mill Creek Monthly

Meeting. He moved soon after to Farmer's Institute, where he was recorded a Minister and started on a remarkable career as a preacher of the gospel. He visited all the meetings of Friends in the world and became known wherever there were Friends. He had a naïve simplicity, a freshness of utterance, and a rare humour, with an unusual depth of religious experience, which made him a welcome visitor in all places where he came.

When the war came to an end the soul of every Friend in the South had been searched for the ground of its conviction and had been tested so as by fire. So far as known, only one Friend surrendered his faith, took up the arms of warfare and went into battle as a fighter. He was disowned for taking this course as soon as it became known.[1] Meetings did not consider the payment of the commutation tax to be a surrender of principle, and some of the prominent Friends in North Carolina Yearly Meeting even advised paying it, but only a small fraction of the membership took this line of least resistance. The great majority of the men faced their hard crisis like real heroes and bore their testimony as unflinchingly as the Friends of the Commonwealth and Restoration periods did.

We must conclude that on the whole the experiences of the Civil War, both in the North and South, strengthened the Society of Friends in its loyalty to its ancient peace testimony. Some members, as we have seen, in the collision of duties, chose the other alternative, but the official utterances of the various bodies were all solidly for undivided loyalty to the peace position, and all who deviated from it were either disowned or expressed regret for their course and desired to be true to the faith in the future. Once more it could be said, without qualifications, that the "remnant" of the Society, the spiritual nucleus which constituted its power, remained, even in this hardest of all testings, unswervingly faithful to the type of Christianity which was felt to be utterly incompatible with war.

In the autumn of 1866 a Peace Conference was held

[1] See *Southern Heroes*, p. 223.

in Baltimore composed of delegates from all the orthodox Yearly Meetings in the United States which were then in epistolary correspondence with London Yearly Meeting. The movement was initiated by a minute of Ohio Yearly Meeting, and it was an attempt to hold "a Pan-Quaker Peace Conference," though the invitation was limited, by the limited outlook of the period, to those bodies in the fellowship of correspondence.[1] London Yearly Meeting was invited to send delegates. It did not see its way clear to send a deputation to America for the occasion, but it did send a very sympathetic address of unity and encouragement, which contained this positive declaration of principle:

> You, in your favoured land, and we, in the midst of our many privileges, have seen how *powerless in the day of trial are all motives derived from mere expediency, or any considerations short of a settled conviction of the essential sinfulness of all war for what purpose soever it may be undertaken.*[2]

The purpose of the conference was "to give increased efficiency to our testimony against war" and to discover "the best means of promoting a more thorough acceptance and support of the principles of Peace in the world."[3] The conference issued an Address to the members of the Society of Friends in which it undertook to declare the position of the bodies which it represented. "We cannot fail," its message says, "to be confirmed in the conviction that Peace is the necessary consequence of the full acceptance of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." It reviewed the faithfulness of Friends, from the origin of the Society to the present time, to the truth of this gospel position; it emphasized the fresh obligations of duty to maintain this testimony unbroken; it dwelt upon the way in which God had been with those who were willing to endure sufferings for their convictions of duty, and it ended with this fine dedication:

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[1] The delegates represented New England, New York, Baltimore, North Carolina, Ohio, Indiana and Western Yearly Meetings.

[2] Minute of the Meeting for Sufferings held in London, 5th October 1866.

[3] Taken from the minutes of the Conference, printed in the *Minutes of London Yearly Meeting* for 1867.

Let us dedicate ourselves afresh to His service and may our love abound more and more, both among ourselves and toward all men. Then we shall not be content to bear a negative witness for our Lord on this point, but will diligently press upon the attention of others this important Christian testimony.[1]

The Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871 did not, of course, bring Friends into peril or testing for their faith as other wars of the century had done, but it was nevertheless the occasion for the greatest piece of spontaneous humanitarian service that the Society of Friends up to that date had ever rendered in war time. The terrible losses and sufferings of non-combatants in the areas of war and devastation, especially in Alsace and Lorraine, made a powerful appeal to the hearts of English Friends.[2] William Jones, then of Darlington, and Henry John Allen of Dublin were sent to the war zones to find out the extent of the suffering, the most essential form of relief needed, and to formulate plans for carrying out the proposed help to the victims of war. Meantime, on the 7th October 1870, the Meeting for Sufferings took up this immense service and appointed a committee of management to raise and administer the funds, and to direct the work of relief. William Jones, in his personal narrative of this tour of investigation, says that the now famous *star* which was adopted as the badge—or brassard —of the workers was first suggested by Sir Saville Lumley, the British Ambassador at Brussels.[3] The Commissioners on the field entrusted with this vast work of relief included, besides the two already named, Thomas Whitwell, Dr. Robert Spence Watson, Eliot Howard, James Hack Tuke and Ernest Beck, the Secretary of the Committee. Altogether there were twenty-five Friends who spent a longer or shorter period of service in one or more of the regions of desolation and misery. Unarmed, with no protection but that of official documents and faith in the divine care and oversight, these Friends began their work in the regions of awful havoc and desolation

[1] *Minutes of London Y.M.* for 1867, p. 47.
[2] The story of these sufferings was vividly told at the time in the *Daily News*.
[3] *Quaker Campaigns in Peace and War*, by William Jones (London, 1899), p. 86.

around the city of Metz, then undergoing its miserable siege. The colossal catastrophe which confronted the workers, especially after the fall of Metz, was staggering, but through innumerable dangers and pestilence and misery these fearless men worked steadily on, saving multitudes of lives and enabling the crushed and broken-spirited peasants to begin once more the tillage of their ruined fields. As Archibald Forbes, the great war correspondent, declared—"Friends, in more than mere name, came to the aid of these poor wretches, with a promptness, tenderness and efficiency characteristic of a sect that ever prefers acting to speaking."[1] Similar conditions attended the siege of Strasbourg, and here again the Commissioners rendered incalculable service.

A new and second stage of this great War Victims Relief work came during the awful days of the siege of Paris and the uprising of the Commune, and in the period of sufferings which followed these events. Still another field of relief work was in the district of the Loire, where a wide area was devastated. Altogether the sum of £200,000 (one million dollars) was raised for this mission of love. The hearts of the French people were deeply touched, and the memory of this spontaneous contribution made by those who could not fight to those who had been the vicarious victims of war has never faded out, and has now been indelibly restamped upon the consciousness of the French by the even greater work of relief in the years from 1914 to 1919.[2]

The period between the Franco-Prussian War and the World War of 1914 was marked by a seeming advance along many lines toward permanent peace. Plans for arbitration and for the judicial settlement of international differences and disagreements grew steadily more definite and progressively won sympathetic approval in the minds of influential statesmen. Friends had no small part in

[1] Quoted in Percy Corder's *Life of Robert Spence Watson* (London, 1914), p. 99.

[2] The Report of the Meeting for Sufferings on the War Victims Fund is given in the printed Minutes of the Y.M. for 1871, pp. 41-57. Dr. R. Spence Watson published in 1870 at Newcastle-upon-Tyne an edition of his Journal entitled *The Villages around Metz.*

the championship of these rational methods, and gradually the old type of vague "peace meeting" gave place to meetings for the study and propagation of methods of judicial settlement of international questions. Joseph G. Alexander, Joshua Rowntree and Sir Edward Fry in England and Benjamin F. Trueblood, the Secretary of the American Peace Society, in America were the foremost exponents among Friends of the new way. In 1894 Albert K. Smiley, a member of New York Yearly Meeting, inaugurated the famous Lake Mohonk Conferences on Peace and Arbitration, which brought together from all over the world the ablest advocates of the establishment of an international court, and these conferences continued until the time when the world was swept into war.

It appeared on the surface that Friends, both in England and America, were settled for ever upon a foundation of spiritual Christianity utterly incompatible with the methods of war, and that their members in a new crisis would hold to their position and suffer unto death, if necessary, to maintain this spiritual faith. The new test—the severest that has ever come—revealed the fact that no adequate preparation had really been made, that, as in former wars, some Friends have chosen one line of loyalty and duty and some another, but, again, as formerly, that the "remnant" of the Society has stood unalterably for the way of life that cannot accept the methods of war, whatever the alternative may be, and the official position of the Society has remained unchanged. The story of the sufferings of those who have kept this faith in the hard collision of ideals and the thrilling story of Friends' practical mission of love and service toward victims of war in France, Russia, Serbia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Armenia, Holland, Germany, Austria, Poland and Greece must be told elsewhere.[1]

[1] This book does not deal with events occurring later than the close of the nineteenth century. The part which American Friends took in relief and reconstruction is told in the author's *A Service of Love in War Time* (Macmillan & Co., 1920). This volume gives also an account of the Quaker "Conscientious Objectors" in America. The story of Friends' Ambulance work has been told in *The Friends' Ambulance Unit* by Meaburn Tatham and James E. Miles (London, 1919).

CHAPTER XIX

SOME NOTABLE FRIENDS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE successive chapters of this book have presented in a brief or extended way a large number of public Friends who have helped to shape the history of Quakerism. The central feature of the movement, as it has been here set forth, is the unfolding and development of a type of religion, and the prominent characters who have appeared in these pages are for the most part persons of spiritual gifts, that is to say, persons who in some degree belong to the *prophetic* class. It would, however, be a serious mistake to have the impression given that all the Friends who have become prominent or worthy of note have been Ministers or message-bearers. Quakerism is essentially a religion of life, an attempt to practise the presence of God, to express the truth of it in practical living, and that calls for something more than a succession of prophetic and apostolic men and women. Along with and in among the leaders of this spiritual type there have always been public Friends of another type, persons who have given expression to the Quaker ideals through their chosen vocations and in their normal human relationships in the world. Dr. John Fothergill, William Allen and Joseph Sturge are three striking instances of this type of Friend. Their life and work have been already reviewed. John Bright and John Greenleaf Whittier are two other outstanding instances of it. There are many more fine illustrations of this type of Friend in the nineteenth century. It is probable that the world outside the Society

has learned to know what Quakerism means through Quaker scholars and men of business and public affairs rather than through the more definite "publishers of Truth." It is therefore obvious that a history of Quakerism would be incomplete which did not contain some adequate account of this type of public Friend. It will, unfortunately, be possible to select only a very few out of the great number of those who are worthy of mention.

William Rotch (1734–1828) belongs more definitely to the eighteenth than to the nineteenth century, but since he is such a good specimen of the type I wish to present, and since he did actually live on into the period under consideration, I shall include him here. He was the son of John Rotch (1704–1784), and was born on the island of Nantucket, which was at this time one of the great centres of Quakerism in New England. The Rotch family did much to make whale-fishing the great industry of Nantucket. They were large shipowners and successful sperm-oil merchants, and they succeeded in accumulating a goodly fortune. William Rotch owned the *Bedford*, the first ship to display the American flag in British waters.[1] It is, furthermore, an interesting historical fact that the three ships, the *Dartmouth*, the *Beaver* and the *Bedford*, which were chartered to the East India Company to bring tea to Boston in 1773, all belonged to William Rotch.[2]

During the Revolutionary War peace-loving Nantucket made a desperate effort to preserve neutrality. The brunt of this effort fell upon William Rotch. By an accident of trade he had previously taken a large number of bayoneted muskets for a bad debt, had sold the muskets to hunters in the Straits of Belle Isle, but had stored the useless bayonets, taken from the guns, in one of his warehouses. They were unexpectedly demanded of him for use in the continental army. He could not conscientiously furnish them for this purpose, declaring that "as

[1] See Augustine Jones' valuable monograph on William Rotch printed in *The American Friend* for May 2 and 9, 1901.

[2] *Memorandum* written by Wm. Rotch (Boston, 1916), Prefatory Note.

this instrument is purposely made and used for the destruction of mankind, I can put no weapon into a man's hand to destroy another, that I cannot use myself in the same way."[1] Not being able to beat them into "pruning hooks," he threw them into the sea before the officer had time to report to headquarters and return with his demand. He was called to Boston before an investigating committee to answer for his act of refusal, and was exonerated on the ground that "every man has a right to act consistently with his religious principles."[2] When asked informally if his principles were "passive obedience and non-resistance," William Rotch replied: "No, our principles are active obedience and passive suffering."[3]

As the war progressed the situation of the neutral Quakers on the island became continually more difficult and dangerous. They suffered under a trade embargo, they were plundered by armed marauders, they were harassed almost beyond endurance. William Rotch individually lost no less than $60,000, an immense sum of money at that time; he was tried for treason, he was captured by a British privateer and threatened with death. In the face of grave dangers and perils he visited officers and commanders to secure justice, and finally he went with Samuel Starbuck of Philadelphia to procure from the Continental Congress permits for Nantucket shipping.[4]

Trade conditions, after peace was made with Great Britain, brought temporary ruin to the Nantucket whale-fishing, and William Rotch decided to transfer his centre of operations to Europe. He endeavoured to make terms with William Pitt, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, to carry on his whaling operations from some British port, but the arrangement of terms was so long delayed and the negotiations dragged so interminably that William Rotch crossed the Channel, and in a few hours made an advantageous contract with the French Government and fixed upon Dunkirk as the centre of his whaling industry, where he eventually collected a fleet of fifty ships.

[1] *Memorandum*, p. 4. [2] *Ibid.* p. 5. [3] *Ibid.* p. 5.
[4] A vivid account of his experiences is given in *Memorandum*.

During the period of his Dunkirk sojourn occurred the presentation of a Quaker petition to the French Assembly, which called forth a characteristic speech from Mirabeau. William Rotch and his son Benjamin joined with the newly discovered Friends in the south of France in presenting the petition, and in explaining to republican France the fundamental principles of Quaker faith and practice. Brissot, one of the master spirits of the Girondists, assisted the little party of Friends in their ambitious undertaking to interpret to the Assembly the principles of the divine Light in the soul of man. The petition, which was written and read before the Assembly by Jean de Marsillac, a distinguished Frenchman who had joined the Society by convincement, was heard with marked respect and was greeted with loud applause. Mirabeau, whose term of life was very soon to close, gave the reply. He expressed his admiration for Quakerism as "a system of philanthropy." He considered the religious principle of Friends a lofty one and beyond the range of interference by any government. He declared conscience to be "a ray of divinity" in man. But he did not take kindly to the Quaker opposition to war as a practical way of life, though he considered it "a noble philosophical principle" in the abstract and one that did "homage to humanity." The Friends a little later had an interview with Robespierre, and endeavoured to impress him with the foundation ideas expressed in the petition, but as William Rotch pithily says: "He made no reply, but let us pass silently away!"[1]

The chaotic conditions of life which grew out of the Revolution and the Reign of Terror eventually forced the Rotches once more to remove their seat of operations, and William Rotch decided to return to America, leaving his son Benjamin to direct the whaling industry from the port of Milford Haven, in Wales. In 1795 William Rotch settled in New Bedford, Massachusetts, and made that city the centre of extensive whaling operations. He was a benign and generous soul, practising to a great old

[1] *Memorandum*, p. 57.

age his beloved principles of the inward Light. With fine simplicity he closes his *Memorandum*, written when he was eighty, with this comment:

> When I take a retrospect view of this [early] part of my life, of the dangers to which I have been exposed, and the numerous preservations I have witnessed, to be attributed to nothing but that Superintending Power who is ever ready to succour the workmanship of his holy hand, it fills me with astonishment and admiration, and seeing my own unworthiness, I may exclaim with the Psalmist, "What is man that thou art mindful of him, or the son of man that thou visitest him?"[1]

He was closely associated with Moses Brown in promoting Quaker education in New England, and his son, William Rotch, jun., who was Clerk of New England Yearly Meeting from 1788 to 1818, carried forward many of the religious and philanthropic causes of which his father was a zealous champion.

John Dalton (1766–1844), whom I have chosen as the next representative in the list of notable Friends, is a striking contrast to the famous Nantucket whaler and man of affairs. He was a shy, quiet, retiring man, systematic and methodical, absorbed in the problems of nature, dedicated to scientific truth, but maintaining as one of the most precious possessions of his life the ancestral faith in the Quaker principle of the Light within. He made the greatest contribution to science that has perhaps ever been made by a Quaker, and, at the same time, he lived a life which bears in a peculiar way the distinctive mark of Quaker faith and simplicity. He was born of Friendly stock, in the village of Eaglesfield, near Cockermouth in the Cumberland dales. He showed great precocity of mind in his early school period, studying mensuration, surveying and navigation before he finished his eleventh year, and beginning to teach the village school when he was only twelve.[2] The greatest event of his early period was his intimate friendship with John

[1] *Memorandum*, p. 69.

[2] This is taken from his own Narrative printed in W. C. Henry's *Memoirs of John Dalton* (London, 1854), p. 2.

Gough of Kendal, where Dalton lived for some years. Gough had lost his sight when a child, but with remarkable success had achieved a high degree of scholarship, and was considered by John Dalton and others as "a prodigy of scientific attainments."[1] It was this blind scholar and scientist who gave John Dalton his knowledge of Greek and Latin, and who started him on the track which finally led to his extraordinary success as an investigator of natural phenomena. Gough was interested in meteorology, and kept a careful daily report of the weather. Under his instruction Dalton began a weather journal of his own and soon took up the study of unusual atmospheric phenomena such as, for example, the aurora borealis, to which, with remarkable insight for his time, he assigned a magnetic cause. During his Kendal period John Dalton covered a wide field of investigation, giving public lectures in 1787 on natural philosophy, mechanics, optics, pneumatics and astronomy. An early biographer declares that Dalton "bore considerable affinity to Benjamin Franklin in mental vigour and bodily constitution, and specially in habits of industry and forethought."[2] He was, however, even more like Herbert Spencer in his methods. Like Spencer, he read almost no books, declaring in his old age that he could easily carry on his back all the books he had ever read, while he hit upon his discoveries without much experiment, and by a kind of shrewd insight or flash of genius which he afterwards carefully verified. In 1793 he moved from Kendal to Manchester, and became tutor in Mathematics in Manchester College on a very modest arrangement of fees.

[1] Wordsworth has described John Gough in the following beautiful lines:

> "Methinks I see him—how his eyeballs roll'd
> Beneath his ample brow—in darkness paired—
> But each instinct with spirit, and the frame
> Of the whole countenance alive with thought,
> Fancy, and understanding, whilst the voice
> Discoursed of natural or moral truth
> With eloquence and such authentic power
> That in his presence humbler knowledge stood
> Abashed, and tender pity overawed."
>
> *Excursion*, Book vii.

[2] Henry Lonsdale's "John Dalton" in his *Worthies of Cumberland* (London, 1874), p. 50.

He continued with increased zeal his scientific pursuits, widening constantly the domain of his interests. Soon after settling in Manchester he published his *Meteorological Observations and Essays* (1793). At about the same time he made the discovery that he was colour-blind, and he proceeded to work out an interesting theory of colour-blindness—often called from its discoverer "Daltonism"—which was published in 1798, under the title *Extraordinary Facts relative to the vision of Colours, with Observations.* It is an indication both of his industry and the width of his interests that he published in 1801 a new system of instruction in English Grammar, designed for schools and academies, called in the title *Elements of English Grammar.* This has proved, as we have seen, to be a peculiar field of labour for Friends, due perhaps to their interest in the use of a special form of English speech.

It was not until he was thirty years old that John Dalton turned his attention to chemistry, the science which his discoveries profoundly revolutionized. When once he had become interested in the foundation problems of chemistry he worked prodigiously at the tasks which he set himself. In 1803 he wrote to his brother:

> I have been, as usual, fully engaged in all my leisure hours in the pursuit of chemical and philosophical inquiries. Even my Christmas vacation was taken up in this way; indeed, I have had considerable success of late in this line, *having got into a track that has not been much trod in before.*[1]

He was, of course, not the originator of the theory that all matter, all material substance, is composed of atoms, *i.e.* indivisible particles. This was a very ancient theory, which was revived and transformed by early modern scientists. It formed the basis of Sir Isaac Newton's physical system.

> "It seems probable to me," Newton wrote in words which Dalton quotes and accepts, "that God in the beginning formed matter in solid, massy, hard, impenetrable, movable particles. . . . These primitive particles being solids, are incomparably harder than any porous bodies compounded of them; even so very hard

[1] Henry's *Memoirs*, p. 47.

as never to wear out or break in pieces, no ordinary power being able to divide what God himself made one in the first creation."[1]

The original thing which Dalton did was to formulate and establish a *chemical* atomic theory which forthwith made chemistry an exact mathematical science, and which has successfully stood ever since the severe tests of the laboratory. He first hit upon the germ of his new theory in his volume on Meteorology where he deals with "the particles," *i.e.* atoms, which constitute "the homogeneous elastic fluids" that compose the atmosphere. His distinctive contribution, however, was his discovery of the relative and unvarying weights of the ultimate particles of matter. He called his discovery *the law of multiple proportions*, which means that the atomic weight of each elemental substance in the universe is unalterable, and combines in an exact proportion with the atoms of other constituent elements. The weights of the ultimate particles being absolutely fixed quantities, and their combining proportions being strictly determined, chemistry thus comes within the scope of numerical calculation. Dalton further laid the foundation of chemical science by inventing a graphical symbolic notation to express the collocation of atoms in compound bodies.[2] Lecturing in Edinburgh in 1807, Dalton modestly said:

My attention has been directed for several years past, with considerable assiduity, to the subjects of *heat*, of *elastic fluids*, of the *primary elements* of bodies and *the mode of their combinations*. In the prosecution of these studies several new and important facts and observations have occurred. I have been enabled to reduce a number of apparently anomalous facts to general laws, and to exhibit a new view of the first principles or elements of bodies and their combinations, which if established, as I doubt not that it will [be] in time, will produce the most important changes in the system of chemistry, and reduce the whole to a science of great simplicity, and intelligible to the meanest understanding.[3]

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[1] J. P. Millington's *John Dalton* (London, 1906), p. 102.

[2] His new system was set forth in two volumes: *A New System of Chemical Philosophy*, Manchester, Part I., 1808; Part II., 1810.

[3] J. P. Millington's *John Dalton*, p. 159.

Time has attested this modest estimate of Dalton's. With scrupulous care he used in the formulation of his theory the term *relative weight* of atomic particles, and not their absolute weight. Even yet no scientist speaks with confidence of the absolute weight of atoms; he confines himself, as Dalton did, to the unvarying proportions in combination with other atoms.[1]

Sir John Herschel's account of the importance of Dalton's discovery and his incidental reference to Dalton's swift method of generalizing insight will be read with interest:

> The extreme simplicity which characterizes the atomic theory, and which in itself is an indication, not unequivocal, of its elevated rank in the scale of physical truths, has the effect of causing it to be announced by Mr. Dalton in its most general terms, on the contemplation of a few instances, without passing through subordinate stages of painful inductive assent by the intermedium of subordinate laws. . . . Instances like this, where great, and indeed immeasurable, steps in our knowledge of nature are made at once, and almost without intellectual effort, are well calculated to raise our hopes of the future progress of science, and by pointing out the simplest and most obvious combinations —as those which are actually found to be most agreeable to the harmony of creation—to hold out the cheering prospect of difficulties diminishing as we advance, instead of thickening around us in increasing complexity.[2]

The Quaker scientist soon became widely recognized by scholars, and came gradually into marked distinction. He was made a Fellow of the Royal Society, a corresponding member of the French Academy of Sciences, and later he was raised to the rank of one of its eight Foreign Associates. Oxford conferred the degree of D.C.L. upon him in 1832, and Edinburgh University gave him the degree of LL.D. He was granted a government pension, first of £150 and later of £300. He was invited to go as scientific expert with the Polar Expedition planned by the Royal Society in 1818. In 1826 the Council of the Royal Society awarded the first

[1] See H. E. Roscoe's *John Dalton and the Rise of Modern Chemistry* (New York and London, 1895), p. 150.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 160.

Royal Medal of fifty guineas to "Mr. John Dalton, for the development of the chemical theory of Definite Proportions, usually called the Atomic Theory, and for his various other labours and discoveries in physical and chemical science." Sir Humphry Davy, who at first had doubted the scientific value of Dalton's theory, on the occasion of the presentation of this medal paid a notable tribute to him and endorsed his theory in these words:

> Mr. Dalton's permanent reputation will rest upon his having discovered a simple principle, universally applicable to the facts of chemistry—in fixing the proportions in which bodies combine, and thus laying the foundation for future labours, respecting the sublime and transcendental parts of the science of corpuscular motion. His merits in this respect resemble those of Kepler in astronomy.[1]

There is a universal testimony from those who knew him that John Dalton was a man of high integrity, fidelity to duty, plain and simple in his manner of life, of great industry and regularity, and strongly attached in faith and practice to the Society of Friends. He was restrained, calm and undemonstrative, somewhat lacking, perhaps, in sensibility and enthusiasm, extremely prudent and economical, but possessed of tender human sympathies, and kindly, lovable nature. He never married, having no time for it, as he once said, or, as he declared in a letter, having his "head too full of triangles, chymical processes and electrical experiments, etc., to think much of marriage." But his correspondence indicates that there was another reason for his solitary life, and that he had passed through a deep experience of the heart. At the time of his death Dalton was given a great public funeral. His body lay in state in the Manchester Town Hall, and an imposing procession of dignitaries, scholars and citizens followed it to the grave. Many Friends felt that the pomp and display were out of keeping with the spirit of simplicity exhibited in the quiet man's life, and out of harmony with the principles of his Society,[2] but it was a

[1] Henry's *Memoirs*, p. 169.

[2] See *The Annual Monitor* for 1845, p. 47. *The Annual Monitor* is published annually in England, and gives short biographies of prominent Friends, and a complete list of members who have died during the year.

sincere mark of the honour in which he was held by his adopted city, and it was a tribute of appreciation to a very worthy man, "whose name," as the President of the British Association said in 1842, "is uttered with respect wherever science is cultivated."

There were other famous Quaker scientists of the century. Only brief mention can be made of a selected few. Edward Drinker Cope, born in Philadelphia in 1840, was one of the founders of the science of paleontology, discoverer of no less than a thousand new species of extinct vertebrata, author of many works on Zoology, and of more than three hundred and fifty scientific monographs, also a great constructive contributor to the doctrine of evolution. Silvanus P. Thompson (1851–1916) was one of the most distinguished writers in the field of electricity and magnetism, and a vital contributor to the thought and literature of modern Quakerism. Joseph Lister, later Lord Lister (1827–1912), famous surgeon and discoverer of the antiseptic method of treating wounds, was born and educated in the Society of Friends. Sir Francis Galton, psychological genius, discoverer of the permanency of finger prints and their value as a means of identifying individuals, and the founder of the science of eugenics, came of a distinguished Quaker family, and received much from Quaker influences, though he was not actually a member of the Society.[1] Sir Jonathan Hutchinson (1828–1913) was another Quaker who attained marked distinction in scientific fields, in the department of medicine. He was made Fellow of the Royal Society, President of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society, Member of the Hunterian Society, the Ophthalmological Society, the Medical Society and the Neurological Society. He was the recipient of many university degrees. He was a man of great breadth and depth of character, and of profound religious faith and experience, one of the first Friends to accept Darwin's conclusions, and to see their true effect on religious thought.

[1] See *Memories of My Life*, by Francis Galton, F.R.S. (London, 1908).

Benjamin West (1738–1820), who was born in Chester, Pennsylvania, and who became the famous historical painter and President of the Royal Academy, was a member of the Society of Friends. He is buried with the great artists of England in St. Paul's Cathedral. William Miller of Edinburgh, unrivalled engraver of Turner's masterpieces of landscape painting, was a Quaker and recorded Minister. Thomas Rickman (1776–1841), impressive writer on the architectural styles of the Middle Ages, and a leader in the revival of Gothic Architecture in the nineteenth century, was for a time an English Friend.

William and Mary Howitt, both voluminous writers of poetry and prose, though they finally separated themselves from the Society of Friends, were born members, were nurtured in its faith, and, in their early literary period, helped to interpret it to the world. Through their fame and distinction they gave it prestige in many circles where it had not been well known before. William Howitt (1792–1879) was born in Heanor, Derbyshire. He received his fundamental education at Ackworth School, where he studied from 1802 to 1806. His personal account of Ackworth at this period is one of the most interesting and vivid pictures that has been written of the school. In 1821 he married Mary Botham (1799–1888), a fascinating and brilliant Quaker maiden whose home was at Uttoxeter in Staffordshire. Both of them were devoted to literature, and their tastes were thoroughly congenial. During the first year of their married life they wrote conjointly their first volume of poetry, *The Forest Minstrel.* In 1824 they settled at Nottingham, where they continued their literary work with an absorbing interest. *The Desolation of Eyam and other Poems* was another product of their joint labours, appearing in 1827. They became intimate with the most distinguished English writers of the time, including Wordsworth and Tennyson. Mary writes in 1831 that her greatest delight was to see how pleased Wordsworth was "with William's conversation."[1] It was hardly less pleasure to her a little

[1] *Mary Howitt: an Autobiography* (London, 1889), vol. i. p. 225.

later to hear herself everywhere referred to as a favourite author.

They were both assiduous workers and produced rapidly. Volume after volume came from their pens, now written by William, now by Mary, and now again by both conjointly. The main criticism would be that they wrote too easily, too fast, and too much. Mary Howitt, as author or translator, had her name attached to no less than one hundred and ten volumes. William Howitt was almost as productive. *The Book of the Seasons*, *A Popular History of Priestcraft*, *The Rural Life of England*, are his best-known prose works. These books reveal his broad religious sympathies, and at the same time his deep appreciation of the spiritual aspects of religion.

As they grew in fame, and formed their relationships with persons of distinction outside the Society of Friends, they felt themselves less and less at home in the somewhat narrow circles of their own fellowship. It was unfortunately often difficult for a distinguished person to remain a Friend during the dull, arid, and contentious period of early nineteenth century Quakerism. If his talents and distinction brought him into wide relation with men and women who did not belong to the Society of Friends, and if he conformed to the manners and habits of others than Friends, he was soon subject to criticism and disapproval. He quickly found his intellectual views and sentiments diverging, too, from those of the more contracted and insular fellowship, and in a short time felt that he no longer fitted comfortably into the restrained way of life in which he had been brought up. Practically nothing was done in most meetings to make a Friend of marked and unusual gifts feel that he was appreciated and honoured. The opposite attitude was more common. Persons of genius were not usually understood. They differed too strikingly from the common type to be easily assimilated. They were too independent of mind to adjust to a set and rigid system of thought and practice. This situation comes clearly

to light in the case of the Howitts. The growing divergence and the consciousness of being somewhat "alien" to the fold appear throughout the Autobiography of Mary Howitt after the middle years.

"Why," she writes to her sister in 1830, "if thou feels the disadvantage and absurdity of Friends' peculiarities, dost thou not abandon them? William has done so, and I am glad. He is a good Christian, and the change has made no difference in him, except for the better, as regards looks. I am amazed now how I could advocate the ungraceful cut of a Friend's coat; and if we [the two sisters] could do the same, we should find ourselves religiously no worse, whatever Friends might think."

But when Mary Howitt seriously considered changing her lifelong habits of dress, she found the step a difficult one to take.

With ribbons I know I should be *nervous*. Besides, notwithstanding all his own changes, William likes a Friend's bonnet! "Anna Mary," she adds, "I shall never bring up in the tithe of mint and cummin, and I fancy Friends are somewhat scandalized at the unorthodox appearance of the little maiden."[1]

She draws a very unfavourable picture of the Quaker atmosphere in the new meeting to which they moved in 1836.

"Nothing has given me a more unfavourable confirmation of my opinion of Friends' contracted and sectarian feeling than our experience in this neighbourhood. Some Friends came from the meeting to announce to us the receipt of our certificate with the utmost solemnity and shut-up-ness. They never said they were glad to have an addition to their meeting, that they hoped our residence had proved so far agreeable, or that it might do so, or even that we might have our health. They had no congratulations, no good wishes. . . . They warned us against literature and politics, and when William inadvertently used the word *Radical*, the man-Friend asked if he thought *that word a desirable one for a Friend to use.* Everything with these Friends was warning and prohibition. They would not read books. They would not go into society. They would not look into a newspaper, nay, even would not admit a newspaper into their

[1] *Autobiography*, vol. i. p. 219.

houses. Now is not this a miserable state to be in? Yet these are among the approved and most orthodox members."[1]

One more evidence of this critical attitude may suffice.

I attended one sitting at Yearly Meeting (1833), but one more unedifying I never did attend. There was so much petty weighing of small matters, and so much interruption from two or three wordy ministers who popped up here and there continually, that, to my mind, it was anything but profitable. I was, however, very much struck with the beauty of the uniformity and singularly pure-looking apparel of so many hundreds of women, who really resemble a large flock of doves more than anything else.[2]

William Howitt, as has been seen, shared his wife's objections to the narrowness and sectarian peculiarities of Friends, but he had a clear grasp and comprehension of the essential principles of the Quaker faith. In 1834 he wrote a penetrating article for *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* on "George Fox and his First Disciples; or the Society of Friends as it was and as it is."[3] The treatment is marked with excellent insight and appreciation. Speaking of George Fox, he said with truth:

On almost all those great questions of civil and religious polity which the world is now coming to a late discussion of, he made up his mind at once, and as at one splendid leap across the broad morass of errors and sophistries of ages. The grand discovery at which he arrived was the clear perception of the spirituality and all-sufficiency of Christianity—that it is a law to which we must bend all our morals, manners and institutions, and not seek in vain to make it conform to them.[4]

He gives a sound and discriminating account of the changes which have made the Quakerism of his day so different from that in George Fox's day:

It has been said that a great change has taken place in the Society of Friends. They have abandoned the bold and innovating spirit and many of the eccentricities of their ancestors, and have silently let fall or greatly modified many of their opinions. They have changed exactly as every religious and

[1] *Autobiography*, vol. i. p. 260. [2] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 235.
[3] This article was reprinted in Philadelphia in 1837.
[4] Reprint, pp. 4 and 5.

almost every other human community does. The effervescence of their first zeal has evaporated with time; and as the spirit has escaped, they have clung more closely to the letter.[1]

Here is another wise comment:

They [the Friends] have most mistaken or forsaken their real duty in that they have failed to conform to the advance of knowledge both political and religious. The cessation of persecution must have produced a strong effect upon them. From a state of perpetual harassing and outrage—from having their meetings broken up by drunken squires and rancorous persons, by mobs and soldiery—their meeting-houses pulled down by order of government—themselves shut up by thousands in most filthy and miserable dungeons—their property plundered, their families insulted and abused—from such a state of things to one of sudden political rest and security under the Toleration Act, the transition must have been of a most sedative nature. Like the sudden ceasing of physical torture, it must have left upon them a most exquisite sense of ease.[2]

They have been content to be distrained upon for tithes and poor's rates to the annual amount of about £14,000—and to be silent; to put these robberies in a book, and shut the book up in a closet. What a blaze of Christian zeal would they have kindled against a State Religion had they, like the first brave Friends, made the nation ring from side to side with the iniquity of the principle of these exactions. . . . The same cause has made them stand aloof from all political activity—as if religion were a thing to be thought of and dreamed of merely; to be shut up in your own heart, your own house, or, at most, to regulate your own conduct between man and man in ordinary affairs—not to extend to those great human movements in the mass, on which the happiness of the mass depends.[3]

Soon after writing this historical and critical paper, William Howitt was asked to write the article on "The Quakers" in the new edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. In preparation for this article, he carefully read upwards of a hundred Friends' books, old and new, and produced a thoroughly first-class contribution. Like his former article, this treatment of Friends was critical. It revealed weaknesses as well as points of strength. It was a scholarly and fearless study. "The virtue of the first

[1] Reprint, p. 16. [2] *Ibid.* p. 17.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 20 and 21.

Quakers," he declares, "was active, that of the present is passive to a miracle."[1] He points out how much they have slowed down in zeal and public effort, how excessively they emphasize matters of garb and speech, and how inadequate is their knowledge of contemporaneous movements. He feels that a blight has fallen upon their ministry, and that the eldership has become "an oligarchy of the most dangerous kind."[2]

With all their deep and genuine love for the Society of their birth, these two popular writers found themselves more and more dissatisfied with the actual condition of the meetings of Friends, and with the lack of vitality and virility in the Quakerism of their day. At length, in 1847, they presented their resignations and ended their official connection with Friends.[3]

Bernard Barton (1784–1849), a beautiful spirit, a greatly beloved poet, one of Charles Lamb's dearest friends, was more closely identified with the Society, though he, too, was made to feel that a person devoted to art and literature could only have a place on the fringe of the Society.[4]

He was a very sweet and gentle soul. He loved John Woolman's *Journal*, saturated himself with it, and lived a life which fitted the best aspirations and ideals of the Society. He was possessed of rare sanity and balance. He had a contented mind, a simple faith, a quiet humour, a pure heart and a very lovable nature. He was not a great poet, but he was a happy facile writer, with an eye for natural beauty, and with an undoubted gift for poetic

[1] *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (8th edition), vol. xviii. p. 721.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 721.
[3] *Autobiography*, vol. ii. p. 43.
[4] He was given no biographical memorial in the *Annual Monitor*. He has given an amusing account of a Quaker Minister who one day attended the meeting to which he belonged and to whom he introduced himself: "'Barton? Barton?' the old Friend said, 'that's a name I don't recollect.' After a little reflection he suddenly said: 'What, art thou the versifying man?' On my replying with a gravity which I really think was heroic that I was called such, he looked at me again, I thought 'more in sorrow than in anger,' and observed, 'Ah, that is a thing quite out of my way.' I dare say the good soul may have thought of me, if at all, with much the same feelings as if I had been bitten by a mad dog." E. V. Lucas, *Bernard Barton and his Friends* (London, 1893), p. 68.

expression for it.[1] He was extremely fortunate in his friendships, and he has been no less fortunate in his biographers. The important Memoir of him was written by Edward Fitzgerald,[2] and the best Life of him was written by Edward V. Lucas. His life is mainly bound up with Woodbridge, in Suffolk, where for forty years he was a clerk in the bank of Dykes and Samuel Alexander, using his evenings and holidays for poetry and correspondence. Edward Fitzgerald says of him:

> His literary talents, social amiability and blameless character made him respected, liked and courted among his neighbours. Few, high or low, but were glad to see him at his customary place in the bank, from which he smiled a kindly greeting, or came down with friendly, open hand and some frank word of family inquiry.[3]

Of his Quakerism Fitzgerald says:

> While duly conforming to the usages of his Society on all proper occasions, he could forget *thee* and *thou* while mixing in social intercourse with people of another vocabulary, and smile at the Reviewer who reproved him for using the heathen name *November* in his poems. "I find," he said, "these names of the months the prescriptive dialect of *poetry*, used as such by many members of our Society before me—sans peur et sans reproche; and I use them accordingly, asking no questions for conscience' sake, as to their origin. Yet while I do this, I can give my cordial tribute of approval to the scruples of our early Friends, who advocate a simpler nomenclature. I can quite understand and respect their simplicity and godly sincerity; and I conceive that I have duly shown my reverence for their scruples in adhering *personally* to their dialect, and only using another *poetically*. Ask the British Friend the name of the planet with a belt round it, and he would say Saturn; at the peril, and on the pain, of excommunication."[4]

He has given his own account of his Quakerism in a letter to his friend, Rev. Charles Benjamin Tayler. Commenting upon his volume entitled *Poetic Vigils* (1824) he says:

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[1] He once wrote of himself—

"I frankly own
Myself no lofty poet."

[2] Edward Fitzgerald married Bernard Barton's daughter, Lucy.

[3] *Op. cit.* (London, 1850), p. 28.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 36.

As to its Quakerism I meant that it should be Quakerish. I hope to grow more so in my next—else why am I a Quaker? My love to the whole visible, ay and the whole invisible Church of Christ, is not lessened by increased affection to the little niche of it in which I happen to be planted.[1]

The most important of his publications were: *Metrical Effusions* (1812); *The Convict's Appeal* (1818), which was a poetical protest against the severity of the criminal code; *Poems, by an Amateur* (1818); *Poems* (1820; 4th edition, 1825); *Verses on the Death of Shelley* (1822); *Napoleon and other Poems* (1822); *Devotional Verses* (1826); *A Widow's Tale* (1827); *A New Year's Eve* (1828); *Household Verses* (1845).

In 1824 some of his friends, including Joseph John Gurney, raised the sum of £1200, as a benefit for the poet and to show their appreciation of his literary work. In 1846 Sir Robert Peel recommended him to the Queen for a pension of £100, which was continued annually until the poet's death. He had a wide circle of friends among distinguished writers and a smaller circle of very close and intimate friendships. His love for his own Society went on increasing and deepening as life progressed, but he had no sectarianism and no narrowness of religious sympathies.

The most precious and fruitful of all his friendships was that with Charles Lamb. They first met in 1822, and though they had few personal meetings, they wrote to each other frequently until Lamb's death.

Charles Lamb was strongly attracted to Friends even before his acquaintance with "B.B.," as he loved to call the Quaker poet, but their friendship greatly increased his interest in Quakerism and enlarged his knowledge of it.

"I love Quaker ways and Quaker worship," Lamb wrote in his charming Essay, "Imperfect Sympathies." "I venerate the Quaker principles. It does me good for the rest of the day when I meet any of their people in my path. When I am ruffled or disturbed by any occurrence, the sight, the quiet voice of a Quaker acts upon me like a ventilator, lightening the air and taking off a load from the bosom."

[1] Lucas, *op. cit.* p. 67.

More famous still is the Essay of Lamb's on "A Quakers' Meeting," beginning:

> Reader, would'st thou know what true peace and quiet mean; would'st thou find a refuge from the noises and clamours of the multitude; would'st thou possess the depth of thine own spirit in stillness, without being shut out from the consolatory faces of thy own species; would'st thou be alone and yet accompanied; solitary, yet not desolate; singular, yet not without some to keep thee in countenance; a unit in aggregate; a simple in composite —come with me into a Quakers' Meeting.
>
> I have seen the reeling sea-ruffian, who had wandered into your receptacle with the avowed intention of disturbing your quiet, from the very spirit of the place receive in a moment a new heart, and presently sit among you as a lamb among lambs. . . . Frequently the Meeting is broken up without a word having been spoken. But the mind has been fed. You go away with a sermon not made with hands. . . . When the spirit is sore fretted, even tired to sickness of the janglings and nonsense-noises of the world, what a balm and a solace it is to go and seat yourself for a quiet half-hour upon some undisputed corner of a bench among the gentle Quakers!

Bernard Barton was also intimate with Robert Southey and carried on much correspondence with him. In the interesting letters of Southey to the Quaker poet it appears that Southey had formed the plan to write the life of George Fox and the history of Quakerism. For this work he made a collection of books and pamphlets and thoroughly prepared his mind, receiving help and advice from the poet. Bernard Barton always had some misgivings about the success of the enterprise, for he feared no one on the outside of the Society could wholly understand and appreciate the central principle of Quakerism.

> "Without a capacity to appreciate this principle," he wrote to Southey, "it appears to me impossible to write their history fairly —with it I have no apprehension of thy erring very materially."[1]

Another popular Quaker writer of the early part of the nineteenth century deserves our interest—Amelia Opie (1769–1853). She was the daughter of Dr. James

[1] *Memoir*, p. 161.

Alderson of Norwich, and she was from childhood a close friend of the Gurneys of Earlham, though in her youth she was not a Friend. She received a broad culture in art, music and literature, and being unusually attractive, with charming manners and personality, she was always popular and welcomed on all social occasions. In 1798, she was married to John Opie, the famous painter. Their married life, which was ideal in its happiness, was short, as John Opie's brilliant career came to an end in 1807. Amelia Opie had already before her husband's death become famous as a writer of poetry and of stories. Her literary work steadily grew in volume, and her powers and her popularity greatly increased during the next decade. Her circle of friends included almost everybody worth knowing in the literary world of her time. When she was at the height of her fame in 1825 she joined the Society of Friends. For eleven years she had been attending Friends' meetings and she had been under the powerful spiritual influence of Joseph John Gurney, Elizabeth Fry, Priscilla Gurney and other Friends of similar type. She was intensely religious by temperament, and she reveals in her interesting letters a faith and piety which formed the very atmosphere and climate of her whole being. She adopted the Quaker speech and with some modifications the Quaker garb, which beautifully became her. Her main interest turned from fiction, but her other literary work was not checked by her affiliation with the people of drab. Robert Southey in his *Colloquies* has this to say of Amelia Opie:

> She has assumed the garb and even the shibboleth of the sect, not losing in the change her warmth of heart and cheerfulness of spirit, nor gaining by it any increase of sincerity or frankness; for with these nature had endowed her, and society, even that of the great, had not corrupted them. The resolution, the activity, the genius, the benevolence which are required for such a step are to be found in her; and were she present in person as she is in imagination, I would say to her—"Thou art the woman."[1]

[1] *Colloquies*, vol. ii. p. 322.

The most important of her books were the following: *Father and Daughter* (1801); *Poems* (1802); *Simple Tales*, in 4 vols. (1806); *The Warrior's Return* (1808); *Tales of Real Life* (1813); *Tales of the Heart* (1820); *Madeline* (1822); *Illustrations of Lying in all its Branches* (1825); *Detraction Displayed* (1828), and *Lays for the Dead* (1834).

Her love for the Society of Friends corresponded to the strength and intensity of her nature. It increased with the years, and without any question Friends' way of worship, their manner of life and their fellowship gave her what she most sought. Her friendship with famous people remained unaltered. General La Fayette, Baron Cuvier, David, the famous sculptor, and Benjamin Constant were the most intimate of her French friends. Sydney Smith, Southey, Sir Walter Scott, George Canning, Dr. Chalmers, Sir James Mackintosh and Professor Whewell were counted among her devoted English friends. But although she enjoyed distinction and was happy in the company of the great, she felt no less at home and enjoyed even greater satisfaction in the quiet meetings of the Friends. London Yearly Meeting always moved her and received her appreciation. In 1842 she wrote:

> Yearly Meeting has engrossed me as much as ever, for I never missed *one* sitting since I obtained the great privilege of belonging to it; one which I feel more and more every year is the last thing increasing age will cause me to forego.[1]

Her religion was of the evangelical type, strongly revealing the influence of her Gurney friends. In fact it was the ministry of Joseph John Gurney, Elizabeth Fry and William Forster that drew her to Friends, and that made her satisfied with her decision. John Hodgkin at her funeral said of her that the ruling principle dominant in her soul was the one implanted there by divine grace, and that she had been enabled to maintain a consistent Christian deportment in the midst of snares and temptations of peculiar fascination.[2]

[1] C. L. Brightwell, *Memorials of Amelia Opie* (1854), p. 348.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 407.

Her works are not read now, her literary reputation is greatly foreshortened with time, but she was an interesting character, a charming personality and an adornment to the Society of Friends.

Another famous woman author of the same period was Mary Anne Schimmelpenninck (1778–1856). She was the daughter of Samuel Galton of Birmingham, a direct descendant of Robert Barclay of Ury, a niece of David Barclay and a cousin of the Gurneys of Earlham. Elizabeth Fry says of her: "She was one of the most interesting and bewitching people I ever saw, and I never remember any person attracting me so strongly."[1] She grew up in a circle of interesting and famous people who strongly influenced her. Dr. Joseph Priestley, Erasmus Darwin, Samuel Parr, and many others of lesser fame came into intimate contact with her early life. She was a Friend by birthright and by conviction, but, like the Gurney sisters in their youth, she found her intellectual interests, and in a large degree her religious interests, met outside the Society. She says in her autobiography:

> The Society at this period of which I speak was at its lowest ebb; with many, religion was a mere bundle of strict outward observances and peculiarities; with others who lived in the love of God, it was indeed a living but mystic consecration; but both these parties alike were ignorant of many of the leading principles of divine truth.[2]

Notwithstanding this account of Quakerism in her youth it was a great factor in her life, and did much to fashion the lines of her development and the bent of her spirit. The Earlham circle of Gurneys and their friends exerted the deepest influence upon her early religious life. On one of her visits there she said to Catherine Gurney: "I am twenty, thou art twenty-five, what is the end of our existence? I am resolved most thoroughly to examine and discover for myself whether the Bible be true; and if it is, I shall instantly do all that is commanded in it; and if it is not, I shall think no

[1] *Gurneys of Earlham*, vol. i. p. 87.
[2] C. C. Hankin, *Life of Mary Anne Schimmelpenninck* (1859), vol. i. p. 81.

more on the subject." "I prayed," she added, "if there were a God to hearken that He would reveal Himself to me."[1]

In 1806 she married Lambert Schimmelpenninck, who belonged to a distinguished Dutch family, and who was engaged in shipping business in Bristol, where she now went to live. Her religious experience deepened, and she became possessed with a most intense desire to "love God above all things and be devoted wholly to His service."[2] Her longing to make her life minister in spiritual service at length found an interesting fulfilment. Her friend Hannah More, the author, sent her one day some of the writings of the Port Royalists. They immediately "spoke to her condition" and met the inmost need of her heart and spirit, and opened to her her life career. The rest of her life was largely devoted to this spiritual movement. In 1813 she published *A Narrative of a Tour to La Grande Chartreuse and Alet* by Dom Claude Lancelot. This was followed in 1816 by the *Narrative of the Demolition of the Monastery of Port Royal des Champs*, and in 1828 she issued *Select Memoirs of Port Royal* in three volumes.

She came in later life strongly under the influence of the Moravians, and finally joined that fellowship, though she always preserved much of the manner and spirit of Friends. Caroline Fox says of her in 1847:

> A visit to M. A. Schimmelpenninck: She is a very genial person, so alive to the beauty of all religious faith, however widely diverse. She spoke of having suffered from an indiscriminate theological education; it has made it hard for her to connect herself decidedly with any special body, and thus, she thinks, has checked her practical usefulness. But may not her outward vocation have been to introduce opinions to each other, dressed not in vinegar but in oil?[3]

Caroline Fox (1819–1871) herself belongs in the list of the most distinguished Quaker women of the nineteenth

[1] C. C. Hankin, *Life of Mary Anne Schimmelpenninck* (1859), vol. ii. p. 15.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 66.
[3] *Memories of Old Friends* (1882), p. 235.

century. She was the daughter of Robert Were Fox of Falmouth, a well-known mineralogist who had extensive scientific knowledge in many fields. Caroline possessed a rare mind and united in herself many personal gifts and qualities. Owing to the circumstance that many people from all parts of England came to Cornwall to find health and healing in the warmer air of the South, she had the opportunity of meeting distinguished persons without leaving her own home. Through this chance she formed acquaintance with some of the most remarkable writers and leaders of thought in England. Her diary, which was published in 1882 under the title *Memories of Old Friends*, is justly celebrated for its brilliant accounts of conversations with John Stuart Mill, Thomas Carlyle, Edward Irving, John Sterling, and many other men and women of note. The diary is a precious document, containing letters and conversations which are deeply interesting and of much biographical importance. It furthermore reveals a beautiful and refined spirit, an accomplished thinker whose opinion is always illuminating, and a very human character quite freed from guile, bitterness, jealousy, pride, or malice.

"The Wiffen Brothers," as Jeremiah H. and Benjamin B. Wiffen were usually called, deserve a prominent place in the list of Friends who have made a name for themselves in literature. They were born of Quaker parents at Woburn, Bedfordshire, Jeremiah in 1792, and Benjamin in 1794. They were both educated at Ackworth School, where they received an excellent fundamental education, and a strong love for poetry. They were school friends of William Howitt, who has given an interesting narrative in his *Boy's Country Book* of some of their boyish escapades at Ackworth. The two brothers whose tastes were congenial became almost inseparable, and exhibited a remarkable unity of spirit and intimacy of friendship; Jeremiah's love of music, his eager intellectual nature and his native poetic gifts, turned his activities toward poetry as the means of expressing himself, and of making his contribution to the world. He wrote many poems which were widely

read and appreciated by his contemporaries. They did not possess that depth of human experience or that compelling quality of style necessary to win a permanent place in literature. One piece of work, however, which he did is of permanent value, namely, his translation of Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*. This appeared in first edition in 1824. It immediately won recognition and brought the Quaker translator fame and appreciation. In the *Noctes Ambrosianae* "the Ettrick Shepherd" (James Hogg) is represented as saying that Wiffen is "the best scholar among a' the Quakers" and "a capital translator."[1] He was offered the degree of LL.D. by the University of Aberdeen, which he modestly declined. Hardly less famous than his Tasso was his translation of the works of the Spanish poet, Garcilasso de la Vega, with a critical and historical introductory essay on Spanish poetry. Unfortunately this brilliant young scholar died in early life, in his forty-third year, when his work was full of promise.

Benjamin Wiffen had not begun his literary career when his brother, Jeremiah, died. His contribution was in prose rather than in poetry (though he also wrote good verse), and it was, like his brother's, to be in the field of translation. In 1839 he became acquainted with a Spanish nobleman by the name of Luis de Usóz y Rio. This gentleman had read Barclay's *Apology* in Spanish, and had read Wiffen's translation of Garcilasso de la Vega, and being in London engaged in literary labours he searched out Friends, through the assistance of George Borrow, and became acquainted with Benjamin Wiffen. That same year (1839) Benjamin Wiffen and George William Alexander undertook a journey to Spain in order to promote the abolition of slavery and the slave trade. From this time Spain took the foremost place in Benjamin Wiffen's mind. He mastered the Spanish language, and devoted himself to the task of making known to the world the spiritual reformers of that country.

Wiffen's Spanish friend, Luis de Usóz y Rio, was the

[1] Professor John Wilson ("Christopher North"), *Noctes Ambrosianae* (Edinburgh, 1855), vol. iii. p. 243.

editor of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles* ("The Early Spanish Reformers") which were eventually published in twenty volumes.

One of these Spanish reformers, Juan de Valdés, became the main subject of research and study for Benjamin Wiffen. Valdés had made a deep impression upon Nicholas Ferrar and George Herbert in the seventeenth century, and Ferrar had translated his *Divine Considerations* into English in 1638. His teaching is in almost all respects similar to the German spiritual reformers of the sixteenth century, and there is a close harmony between his position and the central principle of the Society of Friends. Wiffen came under his spell and determined to make the world acquainted with the fine spiritual leader whose voice had been suppressed. He issued his English translation of the *Alfabeto Cristiano* of Valdés in 1861. The volume contains an excellent historical and critical introduction. In 1865 he published a valuable *Life of Valdés* which formed the first volume of the *Life and Writings of Valdés*, the second volume being the *One Hundred and Ten Considerations*, translated by Wiffen's friend John T. Betts. Besides this he left behind at his death in 1869 a large collection of material on Valdés and the Spanish reformers which was edited and published by the German scholar, Edward Boehmer, under the title *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana* (1874).

Both "the Wiffen brothers" were deeply convinced Friends. They had grasped and experienced the central truth of the Quaker message. They were "lovely and pleasant in their lives," pure-minded, broad in spirit and real contributors to the spiritual life of their time.

Edward Pease of Darlington, "the Father of Railways," is an interesting and typical Friend whose Quakerism was revealed in his practical business life rather than through public ministry. He was born in Darlington, England, in 1767, elder son of Joseph Pease and Mary Richardson. He received a limited, though in the main a sound education in Friends' schools, and at the age of fourteen entered his father's business, which was that of a

wool merchant and weaver of cloth. Young Edward learned the trade and business from the bottom up, and soon showed great capacity in it. He did not allow his expanding business concerns to absorb him. He was a diligent reader, had wide interests, and touched many aspects of life. He was a devoted husband, loving with an affection and tenderness and loveliness almost unique, and the same fine and beautiful spirit of love adorns all his relationship with his children. While still a young man Edward Pease turned strongly toward religion, entering into these deeper things of life with the same intensity of purpose that marked all his doings. His sympathies were with the evangelical movement which was a feature of the time. The preaching of Stephen Grellet and the ministry and work of the Gurney group of Friends were the most powerful influences in his religious life. Though always a part of the great world of business, he was nevertheless extremely sensitive to intimations of duty and to what he felt were the claims of religion. He was described after his death as "the most consistent Friend in the Society,"[1] and his own accounts of his religious experiences and aspirations make one feel that few Friends of the period who gave their entire lives to the work of ministry lived closer than he did to the divine Light within. He records this interesting experience on 1st May 1848:

> There was unexpectedly given me a sense of that bliss into which the spirits of those most near and dear had entered, and with them the spirits of many more beloved friends, who in mental vision passed before me with something of a glow of faith that with this rejoicing number my spirit was to mingle.[2]

There is, however, little of exaltation in his personal testimony. He was in religious matters a very humble soul—"a poor exercised pilgrim who lives by faith in the Son of God and in trust for redemption through Him."[3] In 1844 he writes with his usual humility:

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[1] See the *Diaries of Edward Pease*, edited by Sir Alfred E. Pease, Bart. (London, 1907), p. 257.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 257.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 113.

If ever these notes are read by any of my beloved descendants, or any poor Christian pilgrim whose face is set Zionward, let him be informed that much of the writer's path in life has been a walk by faith and not by sight, and far below the extent of his desires have been the cheering and enlivening perceptions of the influence of the spirit of my Redeemer.[1]

How sensitive this man of great business affairs really was comes out in a reflection which he made upon his having closed meeting, in his capacity as Elder, possibly before the right time had come for it. He says:

Greatly condemned in mind and very uneasy under a feeling that I concluded our very short meeting too soon. As we were parting it felt to me that I had interrupted and invaded that sense of the solemn worship which clothed minds present.[2]

He strongly reflected the stricter almost puritanic Quaker attitude which was slowly yielding place in the Society, during the period of his life, to a freer social conformity. He expresses grave fear that the zeal which Friends are showing for the abolition of slavery and other benevolent and philanthropic activities induces them to join too freely with persons who do not hold sound views "regarding our Blessed Lord and the revelation of His will to man." He believes that there are many "deadly snares" for "members of our religious profession" in these undertakings. His sympathies are in the direction of a return to "first principles of simplicity and sincerity" as expressed in "plainness of speech and apparel."[3] He regrets "luxurious customs," which are creeping into the Society, such as "the introduction of pictures and fancy articles in the home," "the use of silver forks," "a water goblet to each person," "a finger-glass for water at the end of a repast"—"I am satisfied," he says, "that [these customs] are not for me."[4] He never felt "easy in his mind" to have his son Joseph in Parliament. It seemed to him hardly a consistent way for a spiritually-minded man to employ his time and use the life God had in mercy given him. This excessive timidity appears in his

[1] *Diaries*, p. 200.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 227.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 175, 176.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 182.

comment on time spent in reading the *Illustrated London News*. Under date of Monday, 11th August 1851, he notes this reflection :

> Condemned for time spent in looking over the *Illustrated London News*, and reading of its articles. This work is one of the attractive fascinations of the present time.[1]

Speaking of his early temptations, he records with thanksgiving that divine mercy which guarded and preserved him. He says :

> Divine grace followed me, and a constant but, I fear, a very feeble desire was maintained *that I might be a good man* and walk in a way well pleasing to my God, and this state of watchfulness, yet not constantly kept in all that reverence which is due to the visitations and loving kindness of the Lord Jesus Christ, ever restrained me and was a voice behind me and prevented me from mixing in any scenes of folly or ever going to any places of publick amusement.[2]

This, then, was the type of man who with George Stephenson projected the first public railway. Edward Pease, always thoughtful and sagacious, had since 1817 been meditating on a project for using wagons drawn on iron rails by horses for conveying coal from the mines. As the plan was developing, George Stephenson proposed to him the idea of using a fifty horse-power locomotive, such as he (Stephenson) had constructed for drawing coal in the mines, instead of horses. Edward Pease at once took up with the novel idea and set out to give it a practical trial. An Act was secured in 1823 for the construction of the Stockton and Darlington Railway, a stock company was formed by Edward Pease, and George Stephenson was made the Company's engineer at a salary of £300 a year.[3] The railway was opened in 1825, and the first train, consisting of an engine, six wagons loaded with coal and flour, a coach with the directors and their friends, twenty-one wagons with seats

[1] *Diaries*, p. 297. [2] *Ibid.* p. 49.

[3] The Company consisted of ten shares. Edward Pease held four, for which Thomas Richardson supplied half the money ; George Stephenson, two ; Robert Stephenson, two ; and Michael Longridge, two.

for passengers and six coal wagons, went over the rails 27th September. Stephenson always maintained a high opinion of the man who made his first railway enterprise a success, remarking that "he was a man that could see a hundred years ahead." In his old age the citizens of Darlington proposed to commemorate the public service of Edward Pease by erecting a bronze statue of him in his home town, but his native modesty and Quaker conservatism compelled him to refuse the honour.[1] Instead of the erection of the statue, a memorial address, prepared by a committee of citizens, was publicly presented, expressing the historic services of the man whose faith and foresight had made Darlington the birthplace of railroads. They say:

With amazing foresight you penetrated the necessity of unbroken communication by railroads, and in 1818 predicted the extension of that system which now spreads a network over the civilized world, binding the nations together for the interchange of mutual interests. Not content with simply grasping the idea thus initiated, you brought an earnestness of purpose, under difficulties almost overwhelming, to stimulate your perseverance, and the success of your first project from the collieries in the west by Darlington to Stockton-upon-Tees—the ample fulfilment of your augury—is an abiding monument to you, rightly called "THE FATHER OF RAILWAYS." Many of us, inhabitants of Darlington, reflect with gratitude that to yourself and your active colleagues, the late Thomas Meynell and Jonathan Backhouse, we owe entirely the advantage of our town being the focus whence sprang the means of locomotion you originated; and can never forget that to your determination alone belongs the merit of continuing and increasing the manufactories of this place, which would otherwise have been abandoned for a more profitable investment of capital.

Directly and indirectly — by your sterling ability, fertile resources of invention, inexhaustible assiduity, and the highest moral courage, you have been the means, under God—who has hidden boundless riches in the earth, but granted intellect to man for their development—of opening fresh avenues to science, encouraging every branch of trade and commerce, employing large bodies of operatives, and ameliorating the condition of all classes

[1] A statue was, however, erected in a prominent position in Darlington to the memory of his son Joseph.

of society. To you, therefore, more than to any hero of any age, the thanks of a *Nation* are due, and justly may you be termed "A PIONEER OF PEACE."[1]

Two more members of this Pease family especially deserve mention among the notable Friends of the last century, both of them sons of Edward Pease. Joseph Pease (born 1799—died 1872) was the first Quaker member of Parliament and John Pease (born 1797—died 1868) was a dedicated saintly man both in business and in public ministry. Joseph Pease, from the beginning of the railway project, had ably assisted his father in the entire undertaking. To prove the value of the new method of conveyance and to show his complete faith in it, he purchased a coal mine and employed a large number of men to supply coal for transportation on the new railway. So successful were his industrial and commercial operations that ten thousand men were eventually employed in the various undertakings with which he was connected. There were prejudices to be overcome and immense difficulties to be conquered, but the patient, persistent, conscientious spirit of the quiet man was equal to the task. The passage of the Reform Bill in 1832 unexpectedly gave Joseph Pease an opportunity to serve his country in Parliament. No such opportunity had come to any English Friend since John Archdale had been refused the privilege of affirmation upon his election to the House in 1698. Joseph Pease had won the confidence of the people by his devotion to their best interests, by his foresight and energy, by the purity of his life and by the expansion of industrial prosperity in South Durham and Cleveland where his business talents had been employed. He had exhibited in his life and dealings the traits of character which the voters of the Southern Division of the County of Durham wished to have in their member of Parliament, and they made the request to him that he should serve them in this public way. Edward Pease, the father, with his fear of the contaminations of public life, strongly opposed, as we have seen, the idea of having his

[1] *Diaries*, p. 101.

son stand for election to Parliament, expressing his "decided opinion" that unless his son was "wholly regardless of all parental counsel, the advice of all [his] best friends, the domestic happiness of [his] family, [his] duties as a husband and a parent and a member of the Society of Friends, [he] could not for a moment entertain the idea of yielding under any contingency to become a representative of [his] countrymen in Parliament."[1] Jane Gurney, the mother of his wife, Emma Gurney, also used all her efforts and set forth her strongest arguments to convince her son-in-law that he was taking a dangerous course. Many concerned Friends also joined in the effort to persuade Joseph Pease to give up his intentions. His Monthly Meeting discussed the problem in an almost interminable session, with Jonathan Backhouse, a brother-in-law, urging Friends to rise to the vision of the opening door for public service. Finally, "Father Pease," with his good sense, yielded to his conviction of his son's sincere motives and publicly advised him to follow his own light and act upon his own clear judgment.

Joseph Pease refused to make any personal canvas for the election. He asked no man to vote for him; he went to no expense in the election; and he announced in advance that, if elected, he should unflinchingly maintain his practice and profession as a member of the Society of Friends. He made great sacrifices in business as well as in domestic comfort and enjoyment to follow this call of duty, but he took the course because he was profoundly convinced that it was a genuine call.

He was admitted to Parliament in 1833 on his affirmation, the first instance of the kind in English history, and he continued to represent his constituents for a period of nine years. The public station to which he was raised brought no diminution of his religious life. He always wore the plain Quaker coat, and though by nature and breeding a gentleman, he always refrained from employing titles of address and used the simple Quaker form of speech. He continued to attend mid-

[1] *Diaries*, p. 65.

week meetings and to carry on all the spiritual and philanthropic activities to which he had been devoted, making frequent speeches in Parliament on social and political reforms. He laboured with much zeal to promote the British and Foreign Bible Society, the British and Foreign School Society, and the Peace Society, of which he became President after the death of Joseph Sturge. He did much to advance education within the Society of Friends, especially in connection with Flounders Institute, and he exhibited in all his broad activities an intelligent as well as a consecrated spirit. In later life he became blind, but the misfortune did not lessen his zeal or activity. He was successively appointed an Elder and recorded a Minister, and he steadily grew in grace and enlarged in his sphere of service until his death, which occurred in 1872.

John Pease shared with his father and brother in the extensive industrial operations already referred to and he possessed, like the other members of his family, large capacity for constructive work. He exerted a marked and powerful influence upon the men employed in the various lines of industry, and he always made the purity of his life felt wherever he mingled with people of any class. He was one of the original Directors of the first railway and for many years he was heavily absorbed in business, but he gradually found the spiritual work, which he felt to be divinely laid upon him, increasing in volume and importance, and he thought it to be his duty to turn from the demands of secular business to the calls of the spirit, "desiring that nothing might hinder the performance of his duty to his God or his fellow-men."[1] He was an extremely sensitive soul and endeavoured to be responsive to the least intimation of duty. The lines of his thought, the expression of his faith, and the type of his ministry, bear everywhere the marks of the evangelical movement in the Society. He carried on the earlier traits of the introspective, quietist Quaker fused with the fervour and experience of the evangelical. He engaged in an

[1] *The Annual Monitor* for 1869, p. 118.

extensive religious journey on the Continent of Europe in 1842, accompanied by his father, and this was followed about a year later by a visit of two years' duration to the meetings of Friends in America. It was a heavy sacrifice for him to leave behind his deeply loved family, his wide philanthropic interests, his important business obligations, and to undergo the difficulties of extensive travel in the new and often unsettled parts of America. As the "concern" spread over his mind in the silence, he felt himself brought into the living presence of God. He adds: "A shade of heavenly sweetness seemed to be cast over me, its light shone upon America and my way to the radiant portals of the celestial city appeared through that land."[1] For two years he identified himself with American Friends and gave with unbounded devotion the fruits of his rich experience, visiting every section of American Quakerism. He served, as his brother Joseph did, most of the great causes and activities which the evangelically minded Friends of the period were promoting. He was a leader in all educational undertakings of Friends and an early champion of Bible Schools. He continued throughout his life to use the great business talents with which he was endowed, but he received from his Monthly Meeting no less than forty-six certificates for definite religious service at home or abroad, and he may be taken as one of the finest, purest and most saintly public Friends of his time.

Samuel Tuke of York (1784–1857) was a distinct leader among Friends during the first half of the nineteenth century and one of the most influential members of the Society. Like so many other Quaker leaders, he had several generations of seasoned Quaker ancestors behind him, and he carried to a higher level the life and spirit of a noble family tree. He was an exceedingly amiable child—"a sweet-toned instrument," his mother called him—and his education at Ackworth and Hitchin nurtured and matured a mind of fine native quality. He owed, however, more to the intellectual

[1] *The Annual Monitor* for 1869, p. 122.

influence of his grandfather, William Tuke, of his father, Henry Tuke, and of the grammarian, Lindley Murray, than he did to the schools which he attended, since he was only thirteen when his school-days ended and he entered upon a business career in his father's counting-house. It is possible to see how "tender" he was in his youth by an incident which occurred on a commercial journey in the line of his business activities. In the travellers' room in a Newcastle inn he was immersed in the frivolous and foolish conversation of the guests. On going to his own room for the night he sat down to read, as was his custom, a portion of the Bible before retiring, but he felt that he "durst not read it" until his mind was cleansed from the leaven of the foolish talk. "I durst not open my Bible; and I sat weeping for some time, under some sense of forgiveness, and some desires for more strength, before I began to read."[1]

He was, however, not to be a cloistered saint, withdrawn from the problems and tasks of practical, active life. He took, even in his early manhood, a lively interest in the political issues of the time, and showed from the beginning of his business career that he intended, contrary to the prevailing Quaker custom, to take his share of responsibility for the election of the right men to public office. His first step in this direction was taken to help promote the election of William Wilberforce to Parliament in 1807, who came in later years to have a very high opinion of Samuel Tuke. In 1833 nearly three hundred citizens of York signed a request inviting Samuel Tuke to come forward as Liberal Candidate. He had by this time become closely identified with the great spiritual concerns of the Society, and he felt that his duty called him into different tasks than those of the House of Commons.

"I feel," he wrote, "that there are duties attached to my present circumstances and station, which are paramount to those you invite me to undertake, duties which would be incompatible with

[1] Charles Tylor's *Samuel Tuke* (London, 1900), p. 30.

that public station, and which I could not abandon and hope for the divine blessings on my efforts to serve you."[1]

He took, however, an active part in the election and used his tongue and pen with excellent effect. He was an unusually forceful speaker, possessed of clear and sonorous voice, and revealing a strikingly pure English diction. It is J. Bevan Braithwaite's testimony that next to John Bright at his best he knew no speaker to whom it was a greater pleasure to listen.[2]

He had for some years when this occurred been taking an active part in public ministry in meetings for worship. He had been recorded a Minister in 1825, and he refers to this important event of his life as follows, in his diary :

> Deeply important as I have felt it to speak at all in our religious Meetings, this official recognition of me as a Christian minister has felt additionally awful, and I have much wished that another month had been allowed for my own consideration of the engagement.[3]

He had already expressed his sense of "the awfulness of the engagement" when he first began to speak a year before this public recognition was given.[4] This same year in which his voice was first heard in public testimony he commenced editing a series of selections and abridgements from the writings of early Friends—a series of standard volumes which rendered an important service to Friends in the nineteenth century.

A few years later—in 1832—he was appointed Clerk of London Yearly Meeting, and during the six years that followed, the stormy years of the Beaconite controversy, he skilfully guided the sessions of the Yearly Meeting. He had his own deep sympathies and sentiments, but he was broad-minded and fair-minded and could take, as he did, a judicial and reconciling position which often carried the meeting beyond the antagonistic attitudes of partisan speakers to a higher harmonious unity. His minutes

[1] *Memoirs of Samuel Tuke* (London, 1860), vol. ii. p. 107.
[2] *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* for April 1895.
[3] *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 57.
[4] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 390.

were models of style, and they reveal the large outlook of the constructive leader. When the call of his fellow-citizens came to him to enter Parliament, he was thus already settled as to the main line of his duty. He felt that he had found the field of service to which God called him. His part in helping to settle the Beaconite controversy was an important one, and he gave almost as much time and labour to it as he would have given to the affairs of the nation in the House of Commons. Like most members of the committee engaged in this controversy, Samuel Tuke was an evangelical of the Gurney type, and he was called upon to deal with a group of Friends who pushed to an extreme the views which most of the committee held in a more moderate and balanced way. It was, therefore, a peculiarly trying and exercising labour. Samuel Tuke played his part honourably and faithfully, though, it must be said, there was no solution of the situation available on the lines along which the committee felt itself compelled to work. Fortunately most of the undertakings of this good man's life were in other fields than theology, for which he had no marked aptitude. One of the greatest of his services was in the field of education. He has the signal honour of having helped to lay the foundations of the Quarterly Meeting School for Boys, later called Bootham School, in 1828, and the similar School for Girls, later called the Mount School, in 1831. Joseph Rowntree (1801–1859), who was likewise a York Friend whose whole life was devoted to forward-looking undertakings both within and outside the Society, was an efficient co-labourer with Samuel Tuke in the work of founding these two important institutions. Samuel Tuke had a leading part in the work of creating the Boys' School, and it may as justly be said that Joseph Rowntree had the foremost part in connection with the Girls' School.[1] Hardly less important to the advancement of Quaker education was the part which he took in the foundation of the Friends' Educational

[1] *A Family Memoir of Joseph Rowntree* (Privately Printed 1868), pp. 103 and 139.

Society. At the Annual Meetings of this Society, of which he was for many years president, Samuel Tuke gave a series of luminous addresses on the philosophy and methods of education which belong among the most valuable contributions which Friends have made to the exposition of education.[1]

John S. Rowntree, discussing the merits and value of these Papers, says:

> These expositions were largely deduced from the facts elicited from his own historical researches, and now, after the lapse of many years, remain eloquent reminders that man cannot be put into an educational lathe to be turned out like a piece of furniture, that whilst schools have their service of exceeding value, and whilst teachers' labour is one of the noblest professions, yet to parents is given in the divine economy an influence which cannot be delegated to any one. The historical facts are of singular interest and significance; the philosophical reflections display an intimate knowledge of the human heart and are expressed in nervous English.[2]

To Samuel Tuke more than to any other person belongs the honour of the establishment of the Friends' Provident Institution, which came into being in 1832. It was a wise and carefully considered plan for providing annuities and insurance, especially for persons dependent on the continuance of health and working ability. The testimony of the directors of the institution indicates Samuel Tuke's connection with it. They say:

> It is with feelings of peculiar interest that the directors have to notice the decease of Samuel Tuke, who may be regarded as the founder of this institution; for it was he who, prompted by suggestions contained in the unpublished writings of his grandfather, William Tuke [in the year 1808], first brought the desirableness and practicability of such an establishment prominently into view, and was the means, with the aid of able coadjutors, of calling it into existence, and of preparing it to diffuse its benefit to those who might avail themselves of its provisions. The directors think they cannot pay a better tribute

[1] *Five Papers on the Past Proceedings and Experience of the Society of Friends in Connection with the Education of Youth*, 1843.

[2] *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, April 1895.

to the memory of their late friend, than by recording his own words, in reference to the institution: "The truly wise man may find many avenues to wealth closed against him, and, in the pursuit of those which are lawful, he is under the restraining influence of principles which refer to higher and nobler acquisitions, but industry in business, prudence in expenditure, and self-restraint in present indulgences, with a view to a moderate provision for the future wants of life, are among the genuine fruits of a sound religious state of mind; and, on the contrary, the idea that the pursuit of religion calls for the abandonment of the cares of life, or that it is compatible with indolence, with the free expenditure of our money upon what is not necessary for us, when we have made no provision for the probable and almost certain wants of sickness, age, or other vicissitudes of life, is utterly at variance with the true wisdom, and with that godliness which is profitable for all things—both for the life that now is and for the life which is to come."[1]

His interest in the Retreat which his grandfather founded was a dominant concern of his life. In 1813 he published *A Description of the Retreat* which attracted much attention, not only in Great Britain, but also on the Continent of Europe and in America. In 1841 he edited a work on Insane Asylums, written in German by Dr. Maximilian Jacobi. It was translated into English by John Kitching and published with Samuel Tuke's important Introduction under the title: *On the Construction and Management of Hospitals for the Insane.* He was profoundly interested in the Irish people and in a right solution of the Irish problem, and he threw himself with earnestness and devotion into the work of relief for famine sufferers in Ireland in 1845–1847.[2] In a large number of ways he wrought out his pure and noble faith in acts and deeds of human service. He was a man of more than ordinary mental capacity, but of extreme humbleness of spirit. He thought and planned important undertakings but he sought no fame or glory from them. He might almost have served as model for Whittier's "Andrew Rykman's Prayer":

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[1] *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 159.

[2] His son, James Hack Tuke, was companion to William Forster in the great work of the distribution of relief.

Other lips may well be bold;
Like the Publican of old,
I can only urge the plea,
"Lord, be merciful to me."
Nothing of desert I claim,
Unto me belongeth shame.

. . . .

What thou wilt, O Father, give,
All is gain that I receive.

Samuel Gurney (1786–1856) combined in a rare way financial genius, philanthropic spirit and devout religious life. He was the tenth child of John Gurney of Earlham and a brother of Elizabeth Fry and Joseph John Gurney. He was a "difficult" boy, revealing few signs of coming saintliness, but under home and school influence he became sweet-natured and unselfish. He went up to London while still very young and learned the banking business with Joseph Fry, his sister Elizabeth's husband, and in 1808, at the age of twenty-one, he connected himself with the famous banking house of Richardson & Overend in Lombard Street. He had already become a consistent Friend, strictly conforming to Quaker custom in dress and speech and manner of life, while his marriage in 1808 to Elizabeth, the charming daughter of James Sheppard of Ham House, brought him great happiness, and, through the wealth of his father-in-law, opened the door to his unusually successful career.[1]

Young Gurney rapidly revealed his genius for banking and became a powerful factor in the expanding business house, which soon took the name of Overend, Gurney & Company. Its development was unprecedented and the increase of its business went by leaps and bounds. It became the greatest discounting house in the world, lending money upon a large variety of securities and originating new schemes of credit. During the great financial panic of 1825–1826, Samuel Gurney, with undisturbed judgment and self-possession, saved many important commercial houses from financial ruin and won

[1] Ham House, which descended to Samuel and Elizabeth Gurney in 1812 and became henceforth their home, had formerly belonged to Dr. John Fothergill.

the confidence and gratitude of the business world. The crisis called, however, for a strong head, and a firm, brave heart. He took great risks, bore vast responsibilities, and suffered intense anxiety. A person who knew his inner state in these troublous times has well said:

> One must know practically as well as theoretically of the magnitude of City transactions concentrated in one focus, and have felt the heart-sickening anxiety which thrilled the man of business at the times of fearful monetary panics . . . to estimate the immense weight of responsibility which at such times rested on the mind of Samuel Gurney.[1]

He now became known as "the bankers' banker," and his business house, which at the height of his prosperity was estimated to hold deposits amounting to £8,000,000, came to be considered as immovably solid as the Himalayas.

His vast wealth and business successes seem never in any way to have tainted Samuel Gurney's soul. As his fame and influence increased, the deeper, inner traits of his nature grew more marked and he became more positively spiritual in his interests. A Minister of the Society who assumed that great business success and spirituality were incompatible, took it upon himself, on one occasion, to warn Samuel Gurney of the peculiar dangers and temptations incident to a business life, and set before him the disastrous effects of being absorbed in worldly occupations. The banker heard the word of exhortation with meekness and humility, and replied with his usual sincerity and frankness that his occupation had become a natural and necessary part of his life and that, as he was not a man of books like his brother Joseph John, he should be at a loss without his business. What he did not say, though it would have been true, was that he was endeavouring through and by his business to serve God and man. His brother, Joseph John, once remarked very truly and aptly in a letter to Samuel Gurney: "The world will have its cares, but we need not imbibe its

[1] Hare's *Gurneys of Earlham*, vol. ii. p. 30.

spirit."[1] Samuel's own attitude on this matter is well expressed in a letter which he wrote to Joseph John in the midst of the financial stress of 1825. After saying that he was forced to be "too much occupied in worldly pursuits" and that he saw "no clear way out of them," he adds that they were not of his choosing, having come unsought "and may be for the present *my* calling." He says in the same letter to his brother, with deep insight: "I sometimes feel inclined to envy some of you in the devotion or calling of your lives, *with all its trials and baptisms.*"[2]

From the very beginning of Elizabeth Fry's prison work, her brother Samuel identified himself with it. He was always ready with his large and liberal contributions of funds to make her undertakings possible, while his intimate sympathy and wise advice were better than the gold of Ophir to the gentle devoted reformer. She wrote in her diary under date of September 19, 1827:

> Samuel, always my friend and my companion, more or less my guide, my counsellor and my comforter: his stable mind, his living faith, his Christian practice, rejoice me often.

In 1840 Samuel Gurney went on a memorable journey with Elizabeth Fry, William Allen and Josiah Forster, accompanied by his wife, their daughter Elizabeth, and William Allen's niece, Lucy Bradshaw, to visit the prisons in Belgium, Holland and Germany. They had interviews and religious opportunities with many royal personages and prominent people, but more important still, they made a deep impression on the prisoners who heard them and on the jailers whose hearts they touched. Samuel Gurney was one of the promoters of the Niger Expedition in 1841, and a devoted friend and supporter of the Republic of Liberia. He visited Ireland in the terrible days of the famine in 1849, and by his labours there, and his generosity for the relief of suffering, won the fervent love of the Irish people. Amelia Opie, writing the same year to Elizabeth Gurney, quoted from a letter of General

[1] Mrs. Thomas Geldart's *Memorials of Samuel Gurney* (Phila., 1859), p. 57.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 56.

Shaldham which said: "He [Samuel Gurney] ought to have triumphal arches erected wherever he goes, as a mark of gratitude from the poor of this country."

In 1843 he became Treasurer of the British and Foreign Bible Society, to which he gave liberally of his time and of his money. He worked assiduously for the cause of Peace and for the advancement of education, and his interest could always be counted upon in any important humanitarian movement. The most characteristic feature of his spirit of goodness appeared in his readiness to serve and assist even unknown individuals who were passing through critical experiences and whose cases came to his attention. He avoided publicity; he had no desire to secure fame; he served to serve, and only the invisible records of a good man's life could reveal the results which his deeds of kindness produced in the lives of men and women. We have this fine testimony from one who knew his business temptations and who at the same time knew the quality of his life: "He is the only man I have seen who has passed through the burning fiery furnace without the smell of it in some way hanging about his garments."[1]

Thomas P. Cope, of Philadelphia (1768–1854), distinctly belongs in the list of Friends who by nobility of life and quality of talents have rendered distinguished public service. He was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, of consistent Quaker parents, who gave their son an excellent education for those times, and the sort of mental and moral discipline which fitted him for the important affairs that lay before him. In 1786 he came to Philadelphia and patiently went through the successive stages of mastering the foundation principles of mercantile business. He had strong moral convictions, huge capacity for work, uncommon talent for a business career, and a good supply of prudence, joined with a courageous spirit, so that he was well equipped for great enterprises. In four years he was ready to launch out on his own account and built himself a storehouse where he did a large importing business. When the awful scourge of yellow

[1] Rev. Henry Tacey quoted in Hare's *Gurneys of Earlham*, vol. ii. p. 242.

fever swept over the city in 1793, forgetting himself in magnanimous devotion, he volunteered his services for the care and relief of those who were stricken and remained faithfully at his post. He took the disease but fortunately recovered, and when the scourge returned in 1797 he took an important part in the work of alleviation of suffering and in the care of those whose income had failed through the almost complete suspension of business.

In 1807 he began his career as a shipping merchant in the Liverpool trade, his first ship being named the *Lancaster* from his native county. In 1810 he moved his place of business to Walnut Street wharf, which had been the scene of a succession of great business failures. When Thomas P. Cope was warned to beware of this "unlucky place," he replied, "I will earn for it a better name." The war of 1812 brought grave perils to the shipping business, and compelled him to take heavy risks, but he was uniformly fortunate, and the prosperity of the firm steadily increased. As the trade expanded and his capital accumulated, he founded in 1821 the Liverpool Packet Line under the firm of Thomas P. Cope & Son, and for a quarter of a century he was one of the leading merchants in America, the rival, and at the same time the trusted friend of Stephen Girard. He was selected to be one of the executors of Stephen Girard's will; he was president of the Board of Commissioners of the Girard Estate, and he became a Director of Girard College.

He served his city in the Select Council, and he was elected a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature. He was also strongly urged to become a candidate for election to the Congress of the United States, but the unfortunate Quaker timidity, prevailing in the Society at this period, in reference to participation in political life induced him to decline the honour and the service. In a multitude of other ways, however, Thomas P. Cope showed a devotion to the public interest and welfare. He did much to secure for Philadelphia an adequate and a pure, wholesome water supply. He had a prominent share in the creation of

the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, once a great factor in the trade and commerce of Philadelphia and Baltimore. He was for an important period President of the Philadelphia Board of Trade. He was one of the founders of the famous Mercantile Library, and he continued to be President of its Board of Managers until his death. He was chosen to preside at the great "Town Meeting" which in 1843 gathered to voice the desire for the construction of a railroad to the West, *i.e.* to Pittsburgh, there being no railway at the time farther west than Columbia. He also was president of the second "Town Meeting" in 1845 which carried a petition to the Legislature for an Act of Incorporation to construct a railroad from Harrisburg to Pittsburgh. He also gave large financial backing to this enterprise. His name was a support to every good movement, and he was a factor in most charitable undertakings in Philadelphia. He was a broad, many-sided man, honoured, respected and beloved. He was upright and free from any suspicion of crookedness, faithful to all intimations of duty, and a man who raised the name of Quaker in his generation to a new significance and to a larger meaning.[1]

I am inclined to think that Joseph Sturge of Edgbaston, born at Elberton near Bristol in 1793, died 1859, is the consummate flower of Quakerism in the nineteenth century. Many other Quaker lives were beautiful and fruitful, but there was a quality of fragrance to his life and a spontaneity of service flowing from him not often surpassed in any good man's life. I have dealt with his anti-slavery work and with his no less noble work for the establishment of that elusive thing we call Peace, but he was so wide in his sympathies, and so inclusive in his humanitarian spirit that he worked for the promotion of every cause which he believed would liberate man and increase his range of life. The secret of the greatness of his life was to be found solely in his experience of Christianity as a way of living, and in the ideals which

[1] The best existing sketch of Thomas P. Cope, though quite inadequate, is that in Freeman Hunt's *Lives of American Merchants* (New York, 1858), vol. i.

attach inherently to fellowship with Christ. The brotherhood way of life was as normal and natural to him as breathing was, and he had formed a habit of human love that had become as instinctive with him as is the bee's love of honey.

Whittier, who loved him like a brother, has in a few beautiful lines drawn his character with admirable skill:

> His faith and works, like streams that intermingle,
> In the same channel ran:
> The crystal clearness of an eye kept single
> Shamed all the frauds of man.
>
> The very gentlest of all human natures
> He joined to courage strong,
> And love outreaching unto all God's creatures
> With sturdy hate of wrong.
>
> Tender as woman, manliness and meekness
> In him were so allied
> That they who judged him by his strength or weakness
> Saw but a single side.
>
> Men failed, betrayed him, but his zeal seemed nourished
> By failure and by fall,
> Still a large faith in human kind he cherished
> And in God's love for all.[1]

Robert Spence Watson (1837–1911), born at Gateshead-on-Tyne, a suburb of Newcastle, in 1837, came to be one of the great political leaders of the Liberal Party in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and through a long and varied public career remained a consistent interpreter of Quaker ideals in practical life. He was a well-trained and disciplined scholar, a successful solicitor and a man of very wide human interests. He was for thirty-one years honorary secretary of the famous Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Association, of which he became president in 1900. He delivered before this Association no less than seventy-five lectures on the development of the English language. He was one of the founders of Durham (now Armstrong) College in Newcastle, a college of Durham University, and he was

[1] "In Remembrance of Joseph Sturge."

during his entire life a powerful promoter of many branches of public education. In 1881 he received the degree of LL.D. from the University of St. Andrews.

One of the most notable features of his life was the service which he rendered in the settlement of labour difficulties. A prominent member of Parliament, speaking in the House of Commons in the 'eighties, declared that Spence Watson had then rendered as many as fifty awards in labour arbitrations, "not one of which has been disputed."[1] The total number of awards which he gave in labour arbitrations amounted altogether to fully a hundred cases, some of them involving immense problems and entailing heavy labour and responsibility. Earl Spencer in 1891 introduced him at a public meeting as "perhaps the greatest living authority in England on labour questions."[2] He was one of the Commissioners of the War Victims' Relief Fund, raised and administered by the Meeting for Sufferings, during the Franco-Prussian War in 1870–1871, in which service he won the affectionate regard of the stricken population, and in token of his service he received a gold medal from the French Department of Foreign Affairs.[3]

He was the founder of the Newcastle Liberal Association in 1873, and he was from his youth whole-heartedly devoted to the higher and nobler side of politics. He was a lifelong friend of John Bright and John Morley, and he became in later life a warm friend of W. E. Gladstone, who heartily reciprocated his friendship. From 1890 to 1902 Robert Spence Watson was President of the National Liberal Association, and during this period was the chief liberal leader outside of Parliament, exerting a very great influence in the formation of liberal policies, and in the selection of public men. He was greatly beloved and honoured. He refused to become a candidate for Parliament, though often urged to do so, preferring to "dwell among his own people," and to exercise only a

[1] Percy Corder's *Life of Robert Spence Watson* (London, 1914), p. 170.

[2] His knowledge of labour problems was naturally of a practical rather than a theoretical type.

[3] He was offered the Cross of the Legion of Honour but declined it.

personal and moral influence. He worked for many causes, especially for international peace, for free institutions in Russia, and for the promotion of justice and self-government in Ireland. Many honours and distinctions came to him in later life, his friendship with great contemporaries brought him much joy, and the fruits of his years of service became ever more abundant. He was a fine and elevated spirit, a noble character, and a true and living exhibition of the faith and principles of the Society which he loved.

One of the most beloved Friends of the later nineteenth century was Joshua Rowntree (1844–1915), often called by Friends and others "our Joshua." He was from his early years *public* in spirit and attitude, and he was born to be a champion of causes. J. Rendel Harris has very well said of him:

> You might be sure he was at the forefront when hard or daring deeds had to be done, and that winning causes knew him at the end of their long day, and losing causes, or what seemed to be such, knew him in the strain of their long night.[1]

He took up Adult School work when it was in its infancy, and he became one of the most successful leaders of adult classes because he always was a natural friend of men of all stations, and human fellowship was a spontaneous trait of his life. One who worked by his side and knew his "way" with men said of him:

> He always put himself *alongside* those to whom he was talking, especially to those who were asking his advice. However mistaken or limited was their view, they were not met with direct hostile criticism, but with an understanding sympathy, which starting from their own position suggested something necessary to complete it, until, before they knew, they were gently led on to quite another standpoint.[2]

In 1885 he was elected Mayor of Scarborough. While holding this office he was strongly pressed to stand for Parliament, and he felt it right to resign his position and become a candidate. He was elected and sat as a

[1] Foreword to S. E. Robson's *Joshua Rowntree* (London, 1916).
[2] *Ibid.* p. 43.

member of the memorable Parliament from 1886 to 1892. His brother-in-law, John Edward Ellis, began his distinguished career in Parliament at almost the same time, and they worked side by side on many moral questions of the time. This period in Parliament saw the beginning of Joshua Rowntree's long fight against the Anglo-Indian-Chinese opium trade, in which he always had the vigorous help of John Edward Ellis. There has seldom been a plainer moral issue than that involved in the opium trade in China, and yet the economic factor also involved in it blinded prominent statesmen for years to the real issue. John Morley, in his *Life of Gladstone*, has stated the origin of the matter as well as it can be put. He says:

> The Chinese question was of the simplest. British subjects insisted on smuggling opium into China in the teeth of the Chinese law. The British agent on the spot began war against China for protecting herself against these malpractices. There was no pretence that China was in the wrong, for in fact the British Government had sent out orders that the opium smugglers should not be shielded; but the orders arrived too late, and war having begun, Great Britain felt bound to see it through, with the result that China was compelled to open four ports, to cede Hong Kong, and to pay an indemnity of £600,000. So true is it that statesmen have no concern with Paternosters, the Sermon on the Mount, or the *vade mecum* of the moralist.[1]

Sir Joseph Whitwell Pease in 1891 brought before Parliament a Resolution declaring the system by which the Indian opium revenue was raised to be morally indefensible, and two years later a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the question. In spite of this seeming progress the moral issue still failed to grip the nation and did not get settled. In 1894 Joshua Rowntree became Chairman of the Representative Board of six British Anti-opium Societies, and in 1905 he published his splendid book on *The Imperial Drug Trade*. During the period of his chairmanship of the Representative Board he worked in co-operation and conjunction with the members of Parliament who were opposed to the opium trade, and his wise and tactful labours con-

[1] *Life of Gladstone*, vol. i. p. 225.

tributed materially to the final success of the anti-opium campaign, while his book was an invaluable aid to this great moral cause. Though he resigned the office of Mayor in order to enter into work of a wider, national and international scope, he remained always a devoted citizen of his beloved Scarborough. He was made a member of the Scarborough Harbour Commission in 1886, upon which commission he served twenty-eight years, and during five years as chairman. To this work he gave much time and thought, and in a multitude of other ways as a citizen he made his life contribute to the material and spiritual welfare of his city. The principle underlying all his public activity was expressed in one of his sayings: "I don't think one could hope for progress in a world where *spirit* was not uppermost." [1]

Through all his religious work there was revealed a lofty idealism, a triumphant faith, a glowing enthusiasm and an experience of God. "I feel certain," he once said, "that there are, all over the world, scattered amongst men and women in all walks of life, many whose religion is not a method but a Life, mystical in its root, practical in its fruits, a communion with God, a calm and deep enthusiasm, a love which radiates, a force which acts." [2] *He* was one of those men. He was always greater and more wonderful than any of his words or deeds. In his last suffering he said: "I have been trying all this afternoon to get into the spirit of St. Francis, who grew more joyful the more he had to suffer." But without consciously "trying," he was in reality throughout his life, very much in the spirit of "God's poor little man." He was humble, joyous, radiant, enthusiastic, loving, full of the spirit of sacrifice and a disciple of the Cross.

Thomas Hodgkin (1831–1913), the historian, is a shining example of a notable Friend in our latest period who joined indissolubly together great public service with deep religious experience and spiritual ministry. He came of stock which was favourable for both these aspects and, what is perhaps still more important, he formed his

[1] Robson's *Joshua Rowntree*, p. 95. [2] *Ibid.* p. 86.

early ideals in a most favourable social and spiritual atmosphere. His grandfather on his mother's side, Luke Howard (1772–1864), was a remarkable man. He was an intimate associate and friend of William Allen, and partner in his chemical firm in Plough Court. He had a strong scientific bent of mind. He was one of the founders of the science of meteorology. He described the typical shapes and forms of the clouds and invented the names which are still used to characterize them. Little Thomas used to think that "the clouds seemed to gather in their most beautiful shapes round their namer's dwelling, like the beasts round Adam." Luke Howard carried on an interesting correspondence with the poet Goethe upon meteorological subjects. He made important contributions to Botany, and in 1821 he was elected a member of the Royal Society. He was, until his separation from the Society on account of the Beaconite controversy, one of the ablest and most statesmanlike Friends in the English Society. He was very prominent in the movement for the assistance of German peasants in the districts ravaged by the Napoleonic wars. He visited Germany to superintend the distribution of relief, and received from the King of Prussia and the King of Saxony grateful acknowledgment for his generous services. He was intensely evangelical, and, with all his scientific interests, he made religion the alpha and omega of his life.

Thomas Hodgkin's father, John Hodgkin (1800–1875), a carefully trained barrister-at-law, became one of the foremost Ministers of the Society in the middle period of the century. He leaned in sympathy toward the evangelical position, held in its extreme form by the "Beaconites," but he declined to go with them into separation from the main body of Friends. He was intimately associated with Joseph John Gurney, William Forster, Samuel Gurney, and the other evangelical-minded leaders. There was a depth of intellectual insight in his ministry, and an unusual degree of spiritual power. He spoke both to the mind and to the heart. In matters of meeting business his judgment was weighty

and authoritative. His travels in the ministry were extensive, including most of the meetings in Great Britain and Ireland, the South of France and, in 1861, the meetings and families of Friends in America. Such a father was bound to have a moulding influence over a boy possessed of deep religious instincts.

During his college life in the University of London, Thomas Hodgkin formed what proved to be a lifelong friendship and intimacy with Edward Fry (later Sir Edward Fry), and he was closely associated with Joseph Lister, at that time a Friend. Thomas Hodgkin broke down in health in the midst of his college studies, and was forced to interrupt all intellectual work for a time, though he came up later for his degree. He chose law for his life-work, and after a period of private study in the great law treatises he entered the law chambers of Joseph Bevan Braithwaite, a noted conveyancer, an expert on the writings of the Church Fathers, and a powerful evangelical Minister and traveller in the Society of Friends. After three months of work in the Lincoln's Inn Chambers, Thomas Hodgkin experienced a second break in his health, which this time was most serious, and threatened to disappoint all his hopes of earthly success, and yet he could write, "I was able when the stroke first fell upon me to feel more than I ever felt in my life before the actual relationship between my soul and the great Father."[1] Gradually his health returned and, a career of scholarship and law appearing to be closed to him, he took up banking, and thoroughly and practically learned the banking business. In 1859 he became a partner, with a group of young men, in a new bank which was being formed in Newcastle-on-Tyne. In 1861 he was most happily married to Lucy A. Fox of Falmouth.

These years which marked the opening of his business career had been momentous years in the religious world. Every position which Friends held was being searched as with candles, and Thomas Hodgkin, together with his intimate companions and friends, was following the

[1] Louise Creighton, *Life and Letters of Thomas Hodgkin* (London, 1917), p. 28.

progress of expanding thought with keen interest and with ever broadening and deepening spiritual comprehension. He was recorded a Minister in 1869, and to the end of his life he preached a rich, deep, many-sided gospel adapted to the needs of almost all types and classes of people. At about the time of his recognition as a Minister he concentrated his historical study upon the field which was to be his chosen one for many years, *Italy and Her Invaders.* His success in the bank soon brought him a large financial income, enabling him to travel and to buy books as he wished, and he seized his moments of leisure and his periods of holiday to master this immense field of historical research. His eight great volumes on *Italy and Her Invaders* were successfully published by the Clarendon Press between the years 1880 and 1896. They put him in the front rank of the historians of his time and brought him appreciation from many sources, gave him a distinguished circle of friends, and made it possible for him to reach the world with his spiritual message as an unknown man could not have done. He became recognized as the leading authority on the Roman Wall, and an expert on Roman antiquities in Great Britain. He was asked to write volumes for many important historical series, including George Fox in the "Leaders of Religion" Series, and he contributed a very great list of articles to reviews and periodicals. Oxford University conferred upon him the degree of D.C.L. in 1886, and later Durham and Dublin Universities honoured him with degrees.

It was the beauty of Thomas Hodgkin's life—the saintly quality of it—no less, perhaps even more, than the success and the greatness of it that led to his being put here among the notable Friends of the century. He very well marked the difference between the public Friend of the eighteenth century and the public Friend of the nineteenth. There is the same devoutness and dedication of spirit, the same sense of fidelity to duty, the same passion for health of soul, but with these traits there is joined a new outlook on human life, a new breadth of

religious fellowship beyond the range of the Society, a far clearer understanding of current problems and intellectual movements, and a greatly increased utilization of the gains of scholarship for the interpretation of spiritual truth. Thomas Hodgkin's manner was one of grace and ease. His style both in writing and speaking had a clarity, a distinction, and a charm. He was interesting in conversation on almost any theme, and peculiarly so when the topic was connected with a field where his chief interests lay. His home life was lovely, in a rare and high degree, and the biography of him, written by his friend, Louise Creighton, has caught this fine trait and given it beautiful expression, though no book can quite reach the inner heart of what must be for ever a fragrance and attitude of life itself. Two passages about him from two great contemporary scholars will assist the reader who did not know him to *feel* his character and to sense the beauty of his life. The first one, from A. L. Smith, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, is as follows:

> I always came away from him with higher thoughts and the feeling of having breathed purer air. His walk with God was so real. He was one of those men who make us feel that personality is more real and more immortal than anything else in this world. . . . He certainly had the secret of happiness, unselfishness and sympathy.[1]

The other one is from Alice Gardner, also of Oxford, who says:

> His merit as a historian was greatly increased, if not created, by his large amount of human nature. He lived in the past and made it live to others—yet in past as in present he felt the obligation of keeping the balance true, and of examining the evidence before coming to any conclusion. Perhaps no one ever came nearer to my ideal of a Christian gentleman. You see it in his books and you felt it in his talk. His beautiful self came out in all that he wrote and said and did. His charity and kindliness, with his high standard of moral rectitude, marked all that he uttered about men and women of all ages, our own included, and his modesty with all his learning was to me most touching.[2]

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[1] *Life and Letters*, p. 412. [2] *Ibid.* p. 412.

CHAPTER XX

LONDON MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY[1]

THE two features of Quakerism that have most impressed the world at large are (1) its testimony to the reality and validity of mystical experience; and (2) its work for the relief of human suffering. It will seem to some readers perhaps as though these two traits are incompatible and not capable of being united in one person or in one religious body. On the contrary, they are not incompatible traits; they quite properly belong together. Great mystics have often been doers of great social tasks. Bernard of Clairvaux, John Tauler, and George Fox will do for specimen examples. The Friends who have been most devoted to public service, the most sensitive to human need, have usually, though not always, been mystically minded. Close and intimate fellowship with God as the great Companion ought to produce an awakening of the soul to keener appreciation of human possibilities and of brotherly service. Madame Guyon was sound in her teaching about "spiritual fecundity." The person who is supplied within with resources from beyond himself is just the person that ought to undertake the work of human relief and restoration. That combination is beautifully suggested in the symbolic vision which the prophet had of "the hands of a man under the wings."[2]

[1] Until the year 1857 the minutes of London Yearly Meeting were not printed. They are preserved in the written minute books in Devonshire House vaults. The minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings are unprinted, and are preserved in large written folios. Since 1857 the minutes of the Yearly Meeting have been printed. In the Appendix to the *Printed Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting* extensive extracts from the minutes of the Meetings for Sufferings are given.

[2] Ezekiel i. 8.

This historical work will supply considerable evidence that Friends have a strong propensity to undertake human service. They feel themselves most normally occupied when they are championing moral causes or working to improve the conditions of life. They have claimed not to be interested in theology, and it must be said that when they have taken it up they have floundered about in it pretty badly, and most of all to their own harm. But they take naturally to tasks of the social order and they reveal here a native aptitude, as they do also for inward communion.

Throughout this book there has been frequent reference to individual work of social service and relief. Even in the period of Quietism the spirit of service was alive and active. Some of the Friends whose religion appears from their journals to be most inward and introspective were nevertheless profoundly stirred by human suffering and were dedicated to the ministry of relief. After the transformation in outlook, initiated by the evangelical awakening, had swept over the Society in the early nineteenth century, the sympathy of individual Friends for human need and suffering became much more acute, and from this time forward many of the leaders in the Society became absorbed in causes for the betterment of social conditions. At the same time there was an increase of corporate sympathy and a fresh group-concern for the improvement of the conditions under which men were living. This spirit showed itself most emphatically in the London Meeting for Sufferings. In the earlier stage of its history it had been primarily devoted to the care and relief of its own membership who were suffering from persecution or under the legal imposition of taxes, fines, rates, and tithes. The work of the Meeting for Sufferings had in all periods been immense in quantity and very efficient in quality. It had, furthermore, in all its stages shown wide human interest. But in the nineteenth century the problem of the world's suffering distinctly takes the central place which formerly had been occupied by the problem of Quaker sufferings for con-

science' sake. The Meeting for Sufferings continued throughout the century to deal with a great variety of affairs as a continuation committee in the interim between Yearly Meetings. Much of this interim work had to do with definite Quaker matters, with sufferings occasioned by military conditions and by the imposition of tithes, with changes of discipline and church procedure, with the management of funds and property, and with problems laid upon it by action of the Yearly Meeting. The most interesting body of its work, however, was the part it took—a steadily growing part—in the relief of suffering beyond its own membership and in the alleviation of misery in times of great disasters occurring in various parts of the world. As sufferings imposed upon the membership by legal enactment decreased and became almost negligible, the Meeting still justified the use of its name as a Meeting for Sufferings in the fact that its business continued to be in large measure the bearing of the burdens of human suffering. The history of the Meeting through the century contains much that was trivial. Hours of precious time were spent on matters which seem in perspective to be concerned with the infinitely little. Something like a disease of introspection comes often to light, and the absorbing business of the body reads like the petty affairs of Scribes, busy over mint, anise, and cummin. But, fortunately, greater things are there too, and one who studies the minutes of this Meeting with historic insight finds them rich in matters of real human import.

Plato, in his old age, once declared in a pessimistic vein that "human affairs are not worth taking very seriously."[1] The Meeting for Sufferings did not share that discouraged view of human affairs. It looked upon the world as a sphere of service, and it regarded human nature as capable of continual improvement. It is a record which the social reformer can hardly afford to neglect. The undertakings for relief or for the betterment of conditions were often due to individual

[1] Plato's *Laws*.

openings—*i.e.* to concerns born in the souls of awakened individual members, but, after the manner of Friends, they were taken up by the corporate meeting and carried forward into execution by the entire body. We have therefore in this chapter an interesting merging or fusing of the individual and the group, for in the field of action this most individualistic religious denomination turns out to be at the same time one of the most organic and corporate of all religious societies. In the century which we are studying in this chapter the individual Friend carried out his practical concern for relief, if he carried it out at all, through this body called the Meeting for Sufferings. Each American Yearly Meeting had a similar body with parallel functions and experiences, but as the work of the London body was of a wider and more generally important character than that accomplished by any single American meeting, I shall confine my account here to the work of this one Meeting, which is typical of the rest.

In the opening years of the century much of the business of the interim meeting was connected with distinctively Quaker affairs, and it will be difficult, not only in the first stage but throughout the period, to draw a sharp line between internal concerns and external undertakings. Much of the work abroad, which is an important feature of the business of the Meeting for Sufferings, had as much to do with the propagation of Quaker ideas and ideals as with the ministration of relief, and so, too, in the home field the defence and advancement of Quakerism are more or less bound up with many undertakings which occupied the Meeting. Altruism and egoism seldom travel alone. They are not easily sundered, and we shall often find them going hand in hand even when the Meeting itself hardly consciously realized it.

At the beginning of the century there was widespread public opinion in England that Friends were responsible for the prevailing high price of corn, flour, and bread. The popular charge was made that Quakers had a monopoly of these essential articles of food, and that

they had run up the price and were making life difficult for the poor. This widely circulated rumour caused Friends deep concern, and the consideration of it occupied much time in the Meeting for Sufferings during the war-burdened years at the turn of the century. This matter came up first in October of 1800, and the following minute was adopted:

This Meeting being impressed with deep concern at the Calumnies which friends lye under on Acco't of the dearness of Corn, judges it proper that something should be published to convince the Public of our Innocence of the charge, and desires the following friends to draw up what they think necessary on the Subject, and bring to the Adjournment of this Meeting.[1]

The Friends who were appointed to this service brought in the draft of a minute which with slight alterations was adopted, and was as follows:

The Society of Friends commonly called Quakers, having been for some time calumniated as oppressors of the laborious and indigent classes of the Community, by combining to monopolize those necessary articles of life Corn and Flour, think themselves called upon to vindicate their own innocence & integrity, and to assert that no such combination or Monopoly hath existed, or doth exist, either with respect to Corn and Flour, or any other Article whatever; and that they abhor such wicked and baneful practices.

Aggrieved by the unjust reproach, they not only assert their innocence, but put in their claim for possessing an equal degree of Sympathy for the wants of the poor with their fellow Citizens of any description.

If any man will come forward and prove that the charge of forestalling, Monopolizing, or regrating, (which they solemnly deny) to attach to the Society, or any other improper Conduct, whereby the necessaries of life are inhanced in price, can be fixed on any one or more individuals, they are far from desiring to screen such from Justice; but at all events they claim for the Society in general a place in the good opinion of their countrymen, and freedom from the insults which they have long patiently borne.[2]

This minute was printed for wide circulation, and was also inserted as an advertisement in "the public papers" of the time at an expense of £50. As the "calumny"

[1] *Minutes of Meeting for Sufferings* for 1800, vol. xl. p. 404.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. xl. p. 405.

continued to persist in the face of denials, and "an unjust clamour" revived, this subject occupied successive meetings for two years, and this minute of denial was at later periods reproduced in the public press, until the charge finally died away. Other current calumnies and damaging opinions received the attention of the meeting during the next ten years, but none stirred the body so sensibly as this charge of corn monopoly.

The same period saw the publication of a famous edition of the Discipline, called the *Book of Extracts*, and much of the time of the Meeting for Sufferings was given to the preparation, publication, and circulation of this book, which appeared in June 1802, in an edition of 2500 copies, and in October of the same year in an edition of 4500. The meeting showed at the same time great interest in the promotion of the reading of the Scriptures by the membership, and in providing for the circulation of the Bible among the members of the Society.

Militia Acts during the period of the Napoleonic wars often involved Friends in difficulties, and the Meeting for Sufferings scrutinized such Acts as they came before Parliament, and printed and circulated all those which were likely to disturb Quaker consciences, using at the same time its endeavours to secure amendments or provisions for the relief of Friends. "The Parliamentary Committee" of the Meeting kept track of all Bills "likely to affect Friends" in any way, and used all proper influence to defeat unfavourable measures. Measures were taken to inform every family of Friends in the Yearly Meeting of the exact conditions contained in the Militia Acts, so that all the members affected would understand how to proceed in their own cases. The expenses of this Committee for 1802 were £15 : 19 : 8, of which sum £4 : 4s. went to the doorkeeper of the House of Commons, and the same amount to the doorkeeper of the House of Lords.[1] On one occasion in 1801 a committee of the Meeting waited on the Home Secretary, and requested "his interference to prevent the outrages that Friends may

[1] *Minutes*, vol. xl. p. 551.

be subjected to at the expected illuminations."[1] Upon the appointment of a new Speaker of the House of Commons a committee was sent "to request his friendly attention to such matters as may come before the House whereby our Religious Society may be affected." The Speaker received the committee civilly, and expressed his readiness to assist the Society when necessary. Whereupon the committee sent him the following Quaker books to read: Barclay's *Apology*, Sewel's *History*, Penn's *No Cross*, *No Crown*, and Penn's *Rise and Progress*.[2] The work of relief for Friends who were suffering distraints or imprisonment for the non-payment of tithes occupied a great deal of time on the part of members of the Meeting for Sufferings, and remained an urgent section of the business until Friends were relieved of this problem.

Of the more definitely altruistic services of the Meeting during the first decade of the century the efforts to "promote the improvement and gradual civilization" of the Indians of America take a foremost place. In these endeavours, which for many years constituted a positive concern of English Friends, the Meeting for Sufferings in London worked in co-operation with American Friends, and confined themselves mainly to raising funds for American Friends to expend in behalf of the work in hand. In 1807, when the interest was at its height, four thousand pounds sterling were contributed for this purpose. The sufferings of the poor and distressed in the great labour centres of England and of Ireland in the period of peculiar economic stress (1801–1802) deeply touched Friends, both in Great Britain and in America, and in response to the London Epistle, American Friends sent large sums of money to relieve the most desperate cases. The total of contributions from New England, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore amounted to over forty-one thousand dollars, which fund was carefully administered by the London Meeting for Sufferings.[3]

[1] *Minutes*, vol. xl. p. 521.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. xl. pp. 522 and 528.
[3] Details are given in *Minutes* for 1801 and 1802. A full summary of the contributions is given in *Minutes*, vol. xl. p. 538.

The next period, from 1810 to 1825, saw a marked widening out and expansion of the business and concerns of the Meeting. The most important event of this period was the formation in 1817 of "the Continental Committee" of the Meeting for Sufferings, which eventually took oversight of all Quaker concerns and "embassies" on the continent of Europe. This famous committee originally had its rise out of the problems connected with the group of German Friends in and about Pyrmont and Minden. These isolated Friends, a product of the mystical societies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Germany, called for much care and attention. They were subject to frequent persecution; they were harassed by military requirements; their meetings were disturbed by the unsympathetic populace; they were not always in agreement among themselves; they had large families of children for whom Friends tried to provide "a guarded education," and with their small scattered membership they found it difficult to maintain, without help, edifying, spiritual meetings for worship. This situation called for frequent visits of counsel and assistance from Friends in Great Britain. A similar group of problems arose in connection with the small body of Friends located in the south of France, with the central meeting at Congénies.[1] A school for Friends' children had been begun at Congénies in 1813 with about thirty pupils, and this educational experiment continually needed help and oversight. French Friends were involved in considerable suffering during the Napoleonic wars, and they too needed advice and counsel. Many visits, both to Germany and France, were undertaken from time to time by English and American Ministers of the gospel, and this itinerant service called for the care and oversight of some wise group of Friends. The conditions produced on the continent by many years of desolating war and the pitiable sufferings of war-prisoners also called loudly for ministry and assistance on the part of Friends. These and other impressive openings

[1] The origin and early history of these two groups of continental Friends have been given in an earlier chapter of this work.

for service abroad were the occasion for the creation of the Continental Committee. The minute of the appointment is under date of 3rd January 1817, and is as follows:

> It being considered expedient that there should be a standing Committee of this Meeting for the purpose of corresponding from time to time with the Friends of Pyrmont and Minden, and by this means procuring information as to the state of the Society there, and also for attending in any other manner to such concerns thereof as require our care, the following Friends are appointed to form such a Committee; which Committee are to report to this Meeting as they find occasion: Joseph Foster, George Stacey, Thomas Christy, William Allen, and Luke Howard, together with the Correspondents [who at this time were Jacob Hagen, Jr., John Eliot, and Josiah Forster].[1]

Peter Bedford, Frederick Smith, Joseph Allen, and Samuel Gurney were later added to the committee. In 1818 Friends in France were put under the care of this committee, and in 1819 the oversight of Friends in Norway was added to the duties of the same committee. Friends in Norway owed their rise to the conversion to the Quaker faith of a group of Norwegian war-prisoners who were interned on a British prison-ship in the Chatham River from 1808 to 1814. Enoch Jacobsen and Elias Tasted were the spiritual leaders of the little party of about thirty Danes and Norwegians, who formed a small part of a large body of war-prisoners. A copy of Barclay's *Apology* in Danish came into their hands and carried conviction to their hearts. They got into communication with English Friends, were visited by ministering Friends, notably by Stephen Grellet, and adopted the custom of holding a Friends' meeting by themselves. On their return home to their native countries, when their liberation came in 1814, they carried their new-found faith into the communities from which they came, and small Quaker centres were formed in Norway and Denmark; and after 1819, as has been said, these young groups came under the care of the Continental Committee. They were often

[1] *Minutes*, vol. xlii. p. 84.

visited and encouraged by Ministers from England and America—by Stephen Grellet, Thomas Shillitoe, William Allen, Isaac Sharp, Lindley M. Hoag, Eli and Sybil Jones, and by many others.[1] There was a steady growth and increase of the Norwegian group of Friends from 1818 onward, until most of them migrated to the United States, where they formed communities in Iowa and other western States. The minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings give the following census of membership in Norway. In 1818 there were eight members; in 1825, ten; in 1835, nine; in 1845, forty-one; in 1855, ninety-six; and in 1865, one hundred and sixty-six.[2]

Reference has just been made to a small group of interned prisoners of war in England who became "convinced." They were a part of a much larger group of prisoners, about 2700 in number, who were interned for six years. William Allen and Wilson Birkbeck distributed Friends' books among them. Among these books was the Danish copy of the *Apology* which proved effective. Joseph Gurney Bevan's *Summary of the History, Doctrine, and Discipline of Friends*, prepared in 1790 under the direction of the Meeting for Sufferings, translated into French, Italian, and German, was very useful for conveying the Quaker conception to the polyglot groups of prisoners. A woman Friend, named Ann Fry of Frenchay, wrote a *Letter to French Prisoners* which was translated into French and published in an edition of two thousand in 1810, for circulation in the prison camps. Stephen Grellet, in his extensive continental travels, distributed many Quaker books and pamphlets, provided for him in foreign languages by the Meeting for Sufferings, and the influence of these various experiments convinced the Meeting for Sufferings that it was possible to diffuse a knowledge of Friends' principles on the continent of Europe. This led to the formation in 1814 of a Committee on Translations, which in con-

[1] The history of Friends in Norway is briefly told in a book bearing the title *Rise and Progress of the Society of Friends in Norway*, by George Richardson, London, 1849.

[2] Report of the Continental Committee for 1866. *Printed Proceedings* for 1866, p. 30.

nection with the work of the Continental Committee, the groups of Friends in Germany, France, and Norway, and by means of the travel and sojourn of itinerant Friends, exercised an important influence abroad.[1] How keen Friends were to seize every opportunity to interpret their message on the continent appears in the action which the Meeting for Sufferings took in 1814 on the occasion of the visits of the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia to London "for the restoration of the Peace of Europe." At a meeting held in June 1814 the Meeting adopted the following minute:

> The Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia being now in this Metropolis, it is the solid judgment of this Meeting that the present opportunity should not be lost for giving them some information relative to the nature of our religious Principles: the following Friends are appointed to get 2 Copies of the Book of Extracts, 2 Copies of Barclay's Apology, 2 Copies of Penn's No Cross, No Crown, and 2 Copies of the Summary neatly bound; and they are also desired to propose a Minute or Address as may appear to them proper, and bring it to an Adjournment of this Meeting: George Stacey, Joseph Gurney Bevan, Richard Phillips, Stephen Grellet, William Allen, Luke Howard, Thomas Christy.[2]

Addresses to the Emperor Alexander I. and the King of Prussia, Frederick William III., were adopted and presented to them. The address to the Emperor complimented him for the part which he had taken in "restoring peace." It informed him that "at their origin" Friends had endured a fierce persecution because they "refrained from many customs both in religious and civil life which the generality of Christians think themselves warranted to adopt." It expressed sympathy with persons in all parts of the world who feel "conscientiously obliged to decline practices which they believe to be inconsistent with the spirit of the gospel." It also commended the Emperor's interest in circulating the Scriptures among his people, and it urged him to be "an indulgent protector" of all his "upright and conscientious subjects." A similar

[1] See "Quaker Embassies a Century Ago," by Anna L. Littleboy, in *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* for 1919, p. 43.

[2] *Minutes*, vol. xli. p. 544.

message was presented to the King of Prussia, both of which were very kindly received. The two sovereigns remained throughout their lives responsive to the frequent appeals and messages of Friends. Stephen Grellet, William Allen, Daniel Wheeler, Thomas Shillitoe, Elizabeth Fry, and other spiritually endowed Friends were, on later occasions, able to water the seed already sown at the time of the famous London visit, and the Meeting for Sufferings continued its efforts to impress, through literature, its principles of truth and its way of life upon these two continental rulers who seemed open-minded to the Light.[1]

Throughout the period now under consideration, which saw an increase of interest in the propagation of Quaker ideals on the continent, the Meeting for Sufferings was most devoted in its efforts to overthrow the slave trade and to alleviate the sufferings of slaves in every part of the world. In 1805 the Yearly Meeting had adopted this clear minute of its attitude:

> This Meeting having again taken into consideration that grievous National evil, the Slave Trade, the source of accumulating misery and guilt, recommends the Meeting for Sufferings to seek for strength and opportunity to make public our continued testimony against the cruel traffic, and to hold up the hands of the advocates for the rights of the Africans, by petition to the legislature, or by any other mode which Truth may dictate.[2]

Each year following the above emphatic action the Meeting for Sufferings turned its attention to the consideration of this "grievous national evil" until the slave trade was legally abolished in all the colonial domains of Great Britain, and even after this moral triumph was achieved on paper the Meeting continued its efforts to see that the spirit of the abolition law was carried out in fact. A minute of 1820 shows the watchful care which this representative body exercised in this matter. The subject was introduced by the following minute of the Yearly Meeting:

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[1] The Addresses are to be found in *Minutes*, vol. xli. pp. 544-548.

[2] Copied in *Minutes*, vol. xli. p. 76.

This Meeting has been much affected under the consideration that notwithstanding the Slave Trade is legally abolished by our Government, this nefarious traffic is still carried on to a lamentable extent. The Meeting for Sufferings is desired to procure and circulate throughout the Society such information as may appear to that Meeting most eligible, to awaken the interest of Friends, and to give them an opportunity of contributing in a satisfactory manner to promote the great object of the total Abolition of the Slave Trade.[1]

A committee was appointed for this service, and in November it brought in an excessively long report which first states what had already happened, by quoting a pamphlet of Thomas Clarkson's, written for the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, lamenting the revival of the slave trade in the French settlements in West Africa. These statements were confirmed by quotations from letters from the Government of Sierra Leone, a person residing in Senegal, and from reports of the African Institution. The report ends by appealing for large sums to assist captured negroes who had been liberated, and suggesting a standing committee to get and circulate information to promote abolition of the slave trade. A standing committee was appointed and an appeal was commended to Friends. The successive sessions of the Meeting for many years dealt with one phase after another of the ramifications of this extensive cause of human suffering. In 1822 the Yearly Meeting issued an "Address to the Inhabitants of Europe on the Iniquity of the Slave Trade,"[2] and the same year a communication was sent to the British Government declaring, in no uncertain words, that there is no abatement, probably an increase, of the wicked traffic in slaves.[3] In 1828 an emphatic petition was sent to Parliament by the Meeting for Sufferings in the name of the Yearly Meeting, expressing the view that slavery is "utterly inconsistent with the inalienable rights of the human race and with the laws of God," and Parliament is prayed to bring it to an end as far as lies in its power.[4]

[1] It is preserved in *Minutes*, vol. xlii. p. 415.
[2] *Minutes*, vol. xl. pp. 558 and 579. [3] *Minutes*, vol. xlii. pp. 633-637.
[4] *Minutes*, vol. xliii. p. 408.

Two years later (November 1830) a memorable petition was sent to Parliament asking for "the immediate and total abolition of slavery within the British Dominions." The famous document, signed by all members of the Meeting who were present, reminded Parliament

> . . . that for nearly fifty years Friends have pleaded with the Legislature for African fellow-subjects. Their care is not only for slaves but for those whose characters are injured or degraded by being concerned in the system. They have been greatly disappointed that the Abolition of the Slave Trade in 1807 has not led to the extinction of slavery. They petitioned Parliament in 1822, and resolutions passed in that year by both Houses cheered them and gave new hope; but nothing has come of them. They therefore now ask Parliament to pass an Act for the immediate and total abolition of slavery within the British Dominions.[1]

Large sums during the next twenty years were appropriated by the Meeting to the Anti-Slavery Society to promote its work; literature was produced to educate the public; letters of Christian advice were written to slaveholders; projects for the removal of freed people of colour into non-slaveholding regions were assisted with money; plans for the education of negroes received moral and financial support; a delegation was sent to the West Indies to study conditions, and an "Address to the Nations of Europe" was prepared and distributed in the European countries by William Forster, who went forth under "a religious sense of duty" to be the bearer of the Address,[2] and an immense amount of unnoted labour for freedom was carried on by the Meeting for Sufferings until the cause finally triumphed.

I have purposely gone forward to the middle of the century with the consideration of the tireless efforts of the Meeting for Sufferings for the relief of afflicted humanity, especially for the abolition of slavery. The second quarter

[1] *Minutes*, vol. xliii. pp. 578-583. The passage in the text is a summary and not a literal quotation.

[2] William Forster in 1850–1851 visited Holland, Belgium, Hanover, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, Saxony, Austria, Bavaria, Baden, Wurtemburg, Switzerland, Sardinia, Tuscany, France, and Spain.

of the century gave this watchful body of Friends many social problems besides those which concerned the slave and the Indian—the people of colour who always found a guardian and defender in the Meeting for Sufferings. The education of the poor in England; education of factory children;[1] Irish famine relief in the terrible stress of 1847; defence of liberty of conscience, however assailed; efforts for the abolition of capital punishment, are some of the concerns which, with opposition to tithes and militia acts and oaths, and testimonies against war, occupied the Meeting in this period. The differences in doctrine, the divisions and separations within the Society, came upon the Meeting with heavy and weary weight during the whole of this period, and the precious time of many sessions was taken up with studies and reviews of separations in America, advices to separatist parties, appointment of delegations and reports of their findings. These dreary details must be left to "innocuous desuetude," for there are too many live issues for us to spend any more time and space on these dead ones. One new field of spiritual service which has since expanded opened to Friends in this closing part of the half-century—the settlement of Friends in Australia and New Zealand. Hobart, Adelaide, Melbourne and Sydney had, by the middle of the century, become centres of interest to the Meeting for Sufferings, and already these remote meetings are "encouraged in believing that they are not forsaken." For the second half of the century the work in the southern hemisphere received much attention, and the development of Quakerism there aroused profound interest in the hearts of English Friends.

A live concern for securing liberty of conscience to the peoples of Europe arose in the Meeting for Sufferings soon after the revolutions of 1848. Efforts in this direction were frequently put forth, and finally in 1856 the Meeting decided to issue "a Plea in behalf of Liberty of Conscience" in German, French and Italian, to be widely circulated on the continent. The Plea, prepared by a com-

[1] See *Minutes*, March and April 1843, vol. xlv. pp. 214-218.

mittee of the Meeting, was a wise, clear-sighted, persuasive document, which maintained the conviction that "liberty of conscience greatly contributes to the temporal as well as to the spiritual welfare of nations." "It promotes the increase of the number of upright and faithful subjects and citizens—men fearing God, and discharging their various duties to His glory and to the benefit of their country."[1] This document was distributed at first through foreign ambassadors in London, and later by a deputation of Friends, who visited all the countries of Europe to bring the Plea to the attention of the rulers and influential leaders of thought. It is interesting to note that Prince Gortschakoff, Prime Minister of Russia at that time, "attentively read" the Plea, but said that it "was not adapted to his country, and that he could not sanction its circulation in Russia."[2] The year following (1858) the Meeting for Sufferings issued "An Address on the Conduct of Civilized and Christian Nations towards those less civilized and enlightened." It emphasized the fact that "higher responsibilities are consequent upon superior advantages, and are inseparable from them," which is an interesting interpretation of "the white man's burden." It pleaded with fine spirit and wisdom for the protection of the less favoured races, especially in Africa, against ruthless exploitation on the part of commercial explorers and immigrants.[3] This document, too, was widely circulated on the continent. It was supplemented by a personal address to the Emperor Napoleon III., in which he was urged to protect the native peoples in the French colonies, and in which the Friends pray that he, by heavenly guidance, "may be enabled so to act that Divine blessing may rest upon the great empire over which he reigns."[4] A beautiful letter was also sent by the Meeting this year to David Livingstone, then about to return to Africa for the extension of his labours. The letter contained the following personal message:

[1] This document is given in full in the *Printed Proceedings of the Y.M.* for 1857, pp. 54-58.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1859, p. 46.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1858, pp. 16-20.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 36-37.

Our gratitude to the Lord is afresh raised, in that He has been pleased to conduct thee through many trials and dangers, amongst a people of a strange language, and in penetrating into countries not before visited by European travellers. And our Christian affection and solicitude are warmly engaged on thy behalf, in the prospect of thy again going forth to visit those lands.

In attempting to open the way for commercial intercourse with the inhabitants of that country, we believe it to be thy first and sincere desire that they may be brought to a knowledge of that redemption and salvation which come by the Lord Jesus Christ. May this continue to be thy daily care, in dependence on the blessing and guidance of Almighty God.

It has lamentably been too often the case that the representatives of professedly Christian nations, in their love of money and their earnestness to accomplish selfish ends, have violated the first principles of Christian morality, and have so acted as to bring dishonour upon the name of our holy Redeemer.[1]

In 1858 the Meeting for Sufferings took up, with serious concern, the question of "the extended cultivation of opium in India and the traffic therein, with the grievous results as regards the inhabitants of both India and China, greatly to the reproach of this professedly Christian nation." A forceful memorial on the subject was sent to the Earl of Derby, First Lord of the Treasury, which contained the following indictment of the policy of the Government:

We cannot reflect without deep sorrow on the part which our own countrymen have taken in originating and carrying on this immoral traffic. We must regard it as incompatible with the maintenance of those principles of religion and morality which this nation professes to uphold, and which, by its example, it should commend to its own vast dependencies and to those countries over which its advanced position in civilization, and its extensive commercial relations, invest it with so powerful an influence; for the benevolent and righteous exercise of which we must consider that it is responsible to God.[2]

From this date onward throughout the century this Meeting was the persistent and consistent opponent of the opium traffic and the watchful guardian of the races which

[1] *Printed Proceedings*, 1858, p. 39. [2] *Ibid.*, 1859, p. 55.

were being degraded by the use of the drug. This continuous and unremitting effort of the Meeting for Sufferings to wipe out the disgrace of the opium traffic is one of its finest records. The concern was taken up by various individual champions of the cause, but it remained also through the century a corporate concern of the Meeting itself.[1]

During the period of the Civil War in America (1861–1865) the Meeting for Sufferings watched the course of events with care and insight, expressed its sympathy with American Friends and its moral support of their fidelity to principle. It took up at once the cause of the coloured freedmen, and assisted with liberal contributions the work of relief and education on their behalf. It also dealt effectively with the widespread distress among the operatives and their dependent families in the cotton manufacturing districts in the north of England during the cotton famine caused by the war.[2] It also turned its attention, as soon as the war was over, to the needy condition of Friends in North Carolina, and sent generous contributions for the restoration of education and for the relief of suffering in that war-stricken State.

No one can study the minutes of this extraordinary Meeting between the years 1860 and 1870 without being deeply impressed by the ever-widening missionary outlook within the body, and by the extensive travels of devoted Ministers who, under its care, were, in this period, carrying their messages to the far remote lands of the globe and enlarging the borders of its influence. Isaac Sharp visited Iceland, Greenland and Labrador, and wrote back to the Meeting for Sufferings of the truly wonderful occurrences which attended his labours.[3] Russell Jeffrey, Henry Hipsley and William Brewin went out on an extensive spiritual mission in India and Ceylon. Robert and Sarah Lindsey were not only the pioneer Quaker preachers

[1] The progress and successful issue of anti-opium work is described in the *Life of Joseph Gundry Alexander* (London, 1920), pp. 59-97.

[2] See *Printed Proceedings*, 1863, pp. 54, 55.

[3] The travels of this interesting Minister are told in Frances Anne Budge's volume *Isaac Sharp, An Apostle of he Nineteenth Century* (London, 1898).

on the Pacific Coast in America, but they extended their labours to the Sandwich Islands and to Australia and New Zealand. It was a period, too, which saw increased activity of effort to minister to the groups of Friends in Norway, Germany and France, and the minutes of the Meetings for Sufferings clearly show that the corporate body was behind all these undertakings for extension and for the deepened life of the outlying Quaker groups. Eli and Sybil Jones went out to Syria under the fostering care of this Meeting. John Henry Douglas, Murray Shipley, and many other American Friends, under the same oversight, visited all the Quaker centres on the continent and opened new fields of service. J. J. Neave and Walter Robson, with the assistance of this Meeting, undertook an extensive religious mission in Australia, New Zealand and the South Sea Islands. Robert and Christine Majolier Alsop, the latter a native of Congénies, were the instruments of extensive spiritual service on the continent of Europe, especially in the south of France, and eventually, before the century was over, messengers, with expanding faith and vision and working in close fellowship with the Meeting for Sufferings, reached almost all parts of the globe.

One of the interesting activities of the Meeting for Sufferings was that of addressing the sovereign on occasions of historic importance and of sending in person a deputation to present the Address. This was an ancient custom, running through the entire history of the Society and recognized as an established privilege. The deputations, in their visits of address, were of course not confined to the sovereigns. Other important royal persons received visits and so, too, did cabinet ministers, distinguished foreigners visiting England, and sometimes members of Parliament. No opportunity to exert influence in the direction of liberty, or of reform, or of securing the attainment of liberal or humanitarian ideals seems to have been neglected. The first important deputation in the nineteenth century was one which presented an Address to the Prince Regent in 1812 on the subject of

war. It was the custom then, and for many years afterwards, for the Friends of the deputation to wear their hats, which were taken off at the door of entrance by the "Yeomen of the Guard," who, for their various services in connection with the deputation, usually received a fee of five guineas. On this occasion William Allen of Plough Court read the Address and received from the hand of the Prince Regent the written reply prepared in advance.[1]

In 1820 the Meeting for Sufferings addressed King George IV. on his accession and twelve Friends presented the Address in person. Ten years later a similar Address was presented to William IV. and his Queen, Adelaide, the Address being read on this occasion by William Allen. William Allen again performed this service for the deputation at the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837. William Allen's personal account says: "There was a solemn feeling over us. The Queen listened with serious attention, and seemed as though the contents made an impression. She read her answer in a very clear and audible manner."[2] Other deputations were sent by the Meeting for Sufferings to the Queen during her long and memorable reign, notably on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of her coronation, and again, at the sixtieth anniversary, or "Diamond Jubilee." A deputation was sent by the Meeting for Sufferings to visit ex-President U. S. Grant at the time of his European visit in 1877, to express to him the appreciation of Friends for his liberal, wise and humane policy of dealing with the Indians. The Address contained this interesting passage:

> It is with feelings of respect and gratitude that we take the opportunity, afforded by thy visit to this country, of conveying to thee our satisfaction at the cordial support given during thy late presidency to a general policy of justice and conciliation towards the Indian tribes. Our religious Society, as is well known,

[1] A short history of Quaker deputations was written in 1901 at the time of the presentation of the Address to King Edward VII. on the occasion of his coronation, under the title: *A Souvenir of the Address to King Edward VII.*, edited by J. J. Green (London, 1901).

[2] *A Souvenir*, p. 59.

always felt the great debt of responsibility which civilised and professedly Christian nations owe to those that are less civilised and enlightened; and we have rejoiced at the opportunity which was afforded under thy administration to our brethren in America of putting their Christian principles to a practical test, by sharing with other religious bodies the duty of watching over the interests of the Indians on behalf of your government.[1]

The Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71, with its long trail of sufferings inflicted upon the victims of the war, brought many problems before the Meeting for Sufferings. The story of its work, under the War Victims Relief Committee, has already been told in another chapter. The war crisis on the continent seemed a suitable time for the Meeting to issue a message to the meetings of the Society at home, in which they were urged to maintain and express their testimony in behalf of Peace in *positive* ways rather than as a negative conception, and to be careful not to partake in any way of the war spirit.[2] An important Address was sent to the French people and another to the French nation, especially to the inhabitants of the city of Paris, in its period of "terrible calamities."[3] After the close of this desolating war the Meeting for Sufferings exerted itself for many years to "promote the Christian welfare of France," and many visits of Friends in the ministry and others were arranged for accomplishing this end.

In the midst of its other multitudinous business the Meeting for Sufferings never forgot the condition of the aboriginal tribes in various parts of the world. Their needs were frequently revived and presented and their case was at intervals laid before the responsible rulers of the world. Efforts were frequently made to protect morally immature peoples and native races from the desolating effects of intoxicants.[4] The sufferings of the Mennonites in Russia aroused much sympathy and help. Occasions of famine in India were met by special subscriptions for food and supplies. Extensive work of relief

[1] *Printed Proceedings* for 1878, p. 66.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1871, p. 36.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1871, pp. 37-41.
[4] For a good specimen case see *ibid.*, 1888, p. 107.

in Bulgaria, under a new War Victims' Committee, engaged the Meeting during the Eastern wars of 1876, and large funds were collected for this relief expedition. The Congress of European Powers held at Berlin in 1878 on the Eastern question was addressed in person by a deputation who urged upon the Conference liberty of conscience and set forth anew the wickedness of slavery and the slave-trade.[1] As Barnabas C. Hobbs of Indiana had a religious concern to visit Prussia and Russia with a spiritual message in the autumn of 1878, the Meeting for Sufferings seized this opportunity to send an Address to the Emperor of Russia in which an appeal was made on behalf of the persecuted Mennonites.[2] New countries with whitening harvest fields of service opened before the Meeting from decade to decade, Madagascar being the most important one in the decade from 1880 to 1890, while deputations were on occasion despatched to America in the hope of reconciling conservative and progressive Friends in the years of strain after the revival movement had produced its new leaven.

The vast and ever-increasing armaments in the different European countries deeply impressed Friends as a grave menace to the peace of the world, and this subject was "weightily brought under the consideration of the meeting" in 1887. One result of this earnest, prayerful concern was the preparation of a message to all the religious denominations and bodies in Great Britain. This brief but impressive message was as follows:

> This Meeting has had under its consideration the subject which was introduced at our last meeting. The events which are passing around us, the vast military preparations which are being made by the nations of Europe, and which are so calculated to bring about a war, the consequences of which none can foresee, have led us earnestly to consider how far the Churches of Christ are using their influence in abating the war spirit at home and abroad.
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> The subject is a very solemn one in all its bearings, and we

[1] *Printed Proceedings* for 1879, p. 33.

[2] B. C. Hobbs was accompanied by Charles Tylor of England, *ibid.*, 1879, pp. 73-83.

earnestly desire to commend it to the united prayer of our fellow-Christians of all denominations, that it would please our Heavenly Father so to influence the hearts of His children throughout Europe, and to control the warlike passions of men, that peace may be maintained, and the whole spirit and teaching of our blessed Redeemer in relation to it may be fully accepted. His kingdom is one of righteousness and peace; and all who unite in the petition, "Thy kingdom come," at once confess the duty of their own present subjection to it, and pray for its universal establishment.[1]

It would have been well for the world, as we now know, if this prophetic message had sunk deeper into the consciousness of the persons to whom it was addressed.

The Anti-Slavery Conference held at Brussels in the spring of 1890 aroused the hope in Quaker circles that the sad condition of the African races in the spheres of European influence might at length be improved. A deputation of Friends was sent to Brussels by the Meeting for Sufferings with a Memorial containing a strong appeal that slave-trading should be ended, and that native peoples should be protected from the debasing effects of intoxicants. The deputation reported to the Meeting for Sufferings, November 1890, the following encouraging conclusions of the Conference:

The powers represented at the Conference, which have possessions or exercise influence in Africa, bind themselves to establish stations for the represssion of the slave-trade, and to assist each other in this work. They undertake to legislate against the slave-trade in every form. An international bureau is to be established at Zanzibar, to which information is to be communicated, and an annual report of its proceedings is to be issued by this bureau. The sea-borne slave-trade is dealt with in a series of regulations for stopping the abuse of the French and other flags, and facilitating the identification of the dhows or native vessels in which the trade is at present carried on. These clauses are supplemented by provisions giving a right of search to properly authorized cruisers, which, though carefully limited, appears likely to be sufficient for its purpose.

Very strict regulations are enacted for the restriction of the traffic in firearms, gunpowder and other munitions of war, all of

[1] *Printed Proceedings* for 1887, p. 87.

which are to be kept in Government depots, and the sale only permitted under licences annually renewable.

The sale of spirituous liquors is also subjected to important restrictions. A tax is to be imposed on their importation, which will be increased at the end of three years. This provision applies to those districts of Africa in which the liquor traffic is already carried on; but the sale and manufacture of distilled spirits is absolutely prohibited in those regions into which the trade has not yet penetrated.[1]

The sufferings of the Armenians in 1894 received sympathetic response from the Meeting for Sufferings. Their situation was carefully investigated, their appalling persecutions vividly portrayed, and a plea was made to the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs that the most earnest remonstrance should be addressed to the Porte.[2] The persecution of the Doukhobors in Trans-Caucasia in like manner received much attention. A committee of the Meeting examined their case and condition with care, put forth extensive labour in their behalf, and finally assisted large groups of them to accomplish their migration to Canada.[3]

As the century was coming towards its close the Meeting for Sufferings found a great opportunity for humanitarian service in the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. In April 1897 the Sultan of Zanzibar issued a decree abolishing the legal status of slavery in the two islands, thus liberating from slave bonds about 140,000 human beings. The Meeting for Sufferings a few months previously had sent out a deputation to study the condition of these natives, to assist them to achieve their freedom, and to provide, if possible, some form of industrial education for them. After the investigation was made by the deputation, the Anti-Slavery Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings, a committee never to be too much commended for its faithful devotion to helpless peoples, made the following recommendation:

Our recommendation, therefore, is that our Society with its heritage of changeless opposition to slavery, and of good-will to

[1] *Printed Proceedings* for 1891, p. 82.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1894, p. 112.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1894 *et seq.*

its unhappy victims, should fill the position now vacant before it, by taking all needful steps to establish and maintain a permanent Mission in the island, whose object should be to stand by the negro, now emerging into freedom, to defend his civil rights therein, to carry to him the knowledge of the glad tidings of life and salvation, and also to assist him to rise in the social scale by industrial training in the arts of civilized life. We further recommend that the work shall be directed by a Standing Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings, who will provide all the needful means for the work by private subscription, without assistance from the National Stock of the Society, and that the Yearly Meeting should be asked to sanction and support these arrangements.[1]

The report of the committee contained these fine words which may be taken as an expression of the spirit of the Meeting for Sufferings throughout the century: "Let us accept the new responsibilities opening before us, not passing by on the other side; and may we seek to succour the helpless, to raise the down-trodden, and to establish them on a basis having for its foundation love of God and good-will to men."

It soon appeared that slavery was not actually abolished by the decree of the Sultan, and Friends once more took up the cause of the slave with the home Government, and at the same time put forth efforts to arouse public sentiment in behalf of the slaves in these islands. One noble passage stands out in the papers prepared by the Meeting on this subject, and it is worthy to be preserved for its unlimited faith in the possibilities of man. It is as follows:

> We are not concerned to dispute the allegation that the slaves are so degraded as hardly to be able fully to appreciate the advantages of freedom, or the poor women to fathom the depth of the pit of degradation into which they are plunged; it is more than enough for us to know that ours is the power that holds them therein, and to feel spurred on to inform and stimulate public opinion in this country to such vigour of action as shall speedily sweep away this cruel wrong to the natives of Africa, this grievous stain on our national honour.[2]

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[1] *Printed Proceedings*, 1897, p. 93.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1899, p. 128.

The proposed Industrial Mission was established by the Yearly Meeting in the Island of Pemba, and maintained by a committee of the Meeting for Sufferings, until taken over by the Friends' Foreign Mission Association. It has accomplished a valuable service for the natives of that region.

The Rescript of the Russian Czar issued in 1898, calling for a conference at the Hague to effect a reduction of armaments, naturally produced great joy in the minds of Friends everywhere. The Meeting for Sufferings, always on the watch for opportunities to promote peace and to end war, did everything in its power to encourage those who were responsible for the direction of the famous conference. Among the many papers which it issued in connection with this event, the message to Nicholas II. will naturally take the place of first interest. It was as follows:

To Nicholas II., Emperor of All the Russias.

May it please the Emperor,

We hail with thankfulness to Almighty God the proposal issued by authority of the Emperor for a conference of the Powers for the promotion of peace and a mutual reduction of armaments. The Emperor is aware of the deep convictions that have been always held by our religious Society on the subject of Peace, and it is our earnest prayer that the blessing of the Prince of Peace may attend the Emperor's efforts. It will be our joy to use such influence as we possess to promote the great objects which the Emperor has at heart. We commend him to the continued care and guidance of Almighty God.

Signed in and on behalf of the Meeting,
ALBERT J. CROSFIELD, *Clerk.*[1]

Since that letter was sent to Nicholas II. at the close of the century, praying for the blessing of God upon the proposed effort to reduce armaments, the greatest war in human history has been waged. It has laid upon the Meeting for Sufferings the heaviest tasks that have ever been laid upon it since it was founded. It has issued great messages; it has accepted its full share of the

[1] *Printed Proceedings*, 1898, p. 35.

burdens of human suffering brought upon the innocent victims of the war; it has faithfully maintained the ancient testimony of the Society, and, more than that, it has ministered in the best spirit of Quakerism to those who were friendless and helpless. But this story belongs to a later history. Out of the hundred years, here reviewed, only a small part of the service of this remarkable Meeting has been given or could be given. This chapter, however, contains enough to convince the reader that the period of Quietism did not altogether atrophy in the Society the nerves of action nor deaden the spirit of love for humanity. The members of the Meeting, which was never large, were called upon to perform an immense variety of duties. Some of them must have given most of their time and energies to the onerous work of the Meeting. Their own personality had to be largely submerged from sight; no fame attached to their service; no earthly reward could be expected; their names are, for the most part, unmentioned and unknown. What was done was done as corporate action; the individual part was merged in the whole, and, like the bees in the productive hive, each member worked for the group result, careless of personal glory. There were annoying controversies, petty problems, complicated affairs of Discipline, entailing weeks and months of labour, almost endless committee meetings, journeys to far lands and the weary weight of others' burdens. The minutes reveal little of all this. They are abstract and dry. The human element must be supplied from imagination or personal experience. But if the full truth were told, the reader of the story would feel the same sense of awe and deep respect which the writer of this chapter feels as he studies the work of this Meeting during the momentous hundred years of recent history.

CHAPTER XXI

THE MIGRATION OF FRIENDS TO IOWA AND KANSAS

THERE were many stages of Quaker migration westward. The most important stage of the movement has been told, briefly and with necessary limitation of space and of detail, in a preceding chapter. The next great surge westward, after the settlement of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, was into lands beyond the Mississippi which had once been considered the extreme terminus. The purchase of the immense possessions of France west of the Mississippi by President Thomas Jefferson from Napoleon in 1803 will always rank as one of the major events in American history. A vast agricultural domain of great fertility was thereby added to the territory of the United States, and as soon as the possibilities of this new field possessed the imagination of the people in the older sections, an expansion westward toward a new terminus was begun. So far as Friends are concerned this later migration branched into a north-western and south-western movement. The former branch occupied Iowa and adjacent regions, and the southern branch went into Kansas. Isaac Pidgeon, a Quaker emigrant from South Carolina, seems to have been the first Friend to settle in Iowa. He left his family at Rushville, Illinois, crossed the Mississippi in the summer of 1835 and explored the new country a distance of thirty miles from the great river. He returned to Illinois for his family, recrossed into Iowa with the ox-cart which had brought his family and possessions from South Carolina, and located his home on "Little Cedar Creek," near the present town of Salem.

About the same time Aaron Street migrated with his family to the same locality, and with a third immigrant, Peter Boyer, the first Quaker settlement west of the Mississippi was begun, the fourth in a direct series of Quaker Salems.[1] Salem grew rapidly with the successive arrival of such famous families as the Hocketts, Hinshaws, Fraziers, Joys, Hoskinses, Osborns, Johnsons, Mendenhalls, Hiatts, Jessups and many others. A Monthly Meeting was established in 1838, and by the year 1841 the usual attendance at the Friends' meeting on Sunday morning was not less than three hundred.[2] From this time forward the Quaker immigration into Iowa went on by leaps and bounds, and the establishment of Monthly and Quarterly Meetings took place in quick succession until the time appeared ripe in 1863 for setting up a Yearly Meeting west of the Mississippi, which was authorized by minute of Indiana Yearly Meeting. The history of the spread and development of Friends in Iowa has been written by Dr. Louis T. Jones. His volume, *The Quakers in Iowa* (1914) is a scholarly and admirable piece of work, and it is unnecessary in this present history to travel again over the ground so well covered in the book cited. I have dealt in other chapters with various distinctive features of Quaker movements in Iowa, and for all other matters I refer the reader to *The Quakers in Iowa.*

The situation in the Kansas field is different. No constructive history of the important south-western migration and the later development of Kansas Quakerism has yet been written. Much valuable material exists for such a volume and the subject is worthy of extensive treatment.[3] The early settlement of Kansas is full of dramatic situations. In no other region of America was the issue of slavery so completely interwoven with every fibre of the daily life of the pioneer colonists. Almost every settler who left his eastern home to locate in far-away Kansas went out in the

[1] Salem in New Jersey, Ohio, Indiana and Iowa. A still later one was formed in Oregon. The Street family had been connected with all four of these towns.

[2] Newhall's *Sketches of Iowa*, pp. 143, 144.

[3] My friend Herman Newman of Chicago has made an excellent collection of historical material covering this field, to which I have had access.

hope of being a factor in the determination of the destiny of the new State, and eventually perhaps of the nation. The Missouri Compromise, arranged mainly by Henry Clay in 1820, provided for the admission of Missouri as a Slave State with the proviso that henceforth slavery should be for ever prohibited in all the rest of the territory purchased from France, known as "the Louisiana Purchase," north of parallel 36° 30′, which was the main southern boundary of Missouri. In 1854, however, this compromise settlement of a generation before was suddenly annulled. Under the leadership of Stephen A. Douglas a Bill was introduced into Congress, known as the "Kansas-Nebraska Bill," which left the whole question of slavery to be settled by vote of the population of the great territory organized under the Bill. This decision proved to be one of the most important acts in our national life. Lovers of freedom at once determined to control this region. The migration into Kansas was, therefore, a peculiar type of migration dominated by a moral purpose, and the Quaker element in the early structure of Kansas deserves especial attention.

The earliest stage of Friends' relation to Kansas goes back to a missionary venture in 1833. The Shawnee Indians had been moved during the years 1831–32 from their reservations in Ohio to new regions beyond the Mississippi. Friends had been intimately connected with these Shawnees in their old home. They had done much to teach them the beginnings of Christian civilization, and they had convinced them that they could rely, wherever they might locate, on the friendship and help of the Quakers. "Although we are going far away from you," the Indians had said when they separated from their Friends, "we do not want you to forsake us."[1] In 1833 a deputation of three Friends, consisting of Henry Harvey, Simon Hadley and Solomon Hadden, was sent out by the Indian Committee of Indiana Yearly Meeting to visit, encourage and assist the Shawnees. The Friends found

[1] R. W. Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians*, p. 142. See also Henry Harvey, *Shawnee Indians*, p. 231.

the Indians on their new reservation a few miles west of the present site of Kansas City, then called Westport. The old chief of the Shawnees, in his words of hearty welcome to the visiting Friends, said: "Our brothers the Quakers told us that we were going far to the west, but they said that the arms of our brothers the Quakers would still be able to reach and assist us. . . . Now it appears that they have not forgotten us."[1] This deputation gave a favourable report of the opportunity and the need for service in the Kansas reservation, and the Indiana Committee decided to go forward with extensive educational and agricultural work.

The reports of Indiana Yearly Meeting for 1834 say:

> The concern for the civilization of the Shawnee Indians, who have heretofore been under our care, in the future will be carried on by the Yearly Meetings of Baltimore, Ohio and Indiana, the active part of the work devolving on Indiana and Ohio, jointly.[2]

The same year Friends of London Yearly Meeting made a donation of £300 "for the Christian instruction and civilization of the Shawnee Indians west of the Mississippi River." The communication accompanying the gift expressed the desire that a meeting for worship might be established, to be held on First-days and week-days, and that "the objects of care [the Indians] be invited, as they may incline, to sit down with Friends in silence to wait upon the Lord."[3] In 1835 the committee of the three co-operating Yearly Meetings met at Mount Pleasant, Ohio, and laid their plans for the mission. A valuable tract of three hundred and twenty acres, situated about ten miles from Kansas City, was leased from the Indians for the mission farm and as a location for the school, and in 1836 the necessary buildings for the enterprise were erected. In 1837 active work was begun under the superintendency of Moses Pearson and wife of Ohio.[4] The

[1] *Friends and the Indians*, p. 143.

[2] Unprinted *Minutes* for 1834. The printed *Minutes* date from 1841.

[3] Article on "Friends' Establishment in Kansas," by Wilson Hobbs, M.D., in *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. viii. p. 262.

[4] They were parents of Mahalah Jay, well known to present-day Friends.

school began its career in a small way, but rapidly grew and became an important centre of influence. Dr. Wilson Hobbs, who was engaged as teacher and medical adviser in the mission in 1850, has given a good account of the condition and character of the pupils and the methods of procedure as follows:

The school when I took charge of it consisted of about forty children, all of whom were Shawnees but one, who was a Stockbridge. These were fed, clothed, and educated entirely at the expense of the Church. They were received without preparation, and came ragged, covered with filth and vermin, with long hair, and the habits of uncivilized life upon them, and with no knowledge of the English language. The service to a new pupil was to trim his hair closely; then, with soap and water, to give him or her the first lesson in godliness, which was a good scrubbing, and a little red precipitate on the scalp, to supplement the use of a fine-toothed comb; then he was furnished with a suit of new clothes, and taught how to put them on and off. They all emerged from this ordeal as shy as peacocks just plucked. A new English name finished the preparation for the alphabet and the English language. The children were not allowed to speak the Shawnee language among themselves except when absolutely necessary. The object of this rule was to force the knowledge and use of the English upon all as soon as possible. Our school books were all in this language. Our people never made a translation into the Shawnee tongue. Doctor Barker, superintendent of the Shawnee Baptist Mission, translated the New Testament scriptures into the Shawnee tongue, and printed the book himself, but I think it did very little service. It could only be read by those who had been taught in the schools, and these had all been taught English. The progress made by the children in learning was very fair. Except on Saturday and Sunday, they were kept in school six hours a day. When not in school it was my duty to have the boys at such work about the house or farm as was needed to be done, and the girls were under the care of my wife in the sewing-room, except such as were detailed for dining-room and kitchen work.[1]

No effort was put forth to make Quakers of the Indians, but everything was done that could be done to give them good moral and religious *nurture* while they were being trained to become successful farmers. During

[1] *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. viii. p. 253.

this "mission period" a religious meeting was held in the meeting-house every First-day morning. It was conducted after the manner of Friends on the basis of silence, and generally continued throughout in silence, though sometimes the superintendent of the mission, who was occasionally a recorded Minister, gave a brief message or offered a prayer, and sometimes an Indian chief spoke in the Shawnee language to the delight and satisfaction of his own people.[1] A number of Indians were deeply transformed through the influence of the lives of the workers and by the spirit revealed in the meetings, and some of them joined the Society, notably one named Kako, who became a member of Miami Monthly Meeting in Ohio, and who exhibited until his dying day remarkable faith and spiritual power. The mission performed a valuable service and distinctly helped to prepare the way for Kansas Quakerism.

The second stage of Quakerism in Kansas opened in this decisive year (1854). Friends everywhere were profoundly stirred by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. It now became clear that a titanic struggle between freedom and slavery was emerging. The possession of the great prairies stretching from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, the new western terminus of the country, was felt to be the most important factor for shaping the future destiny of America, and at this period it was fondly believed by Friends that the solution was to be arrived at by political and moral forces and by methods in which they could properly take their share. The scenes of bloodshed which later were to stain the fields of Kansas had not yet been forecast in their imagination.

The earliest beginning of Quaker migration to Kansas was made in the autumn of 1854 by William H. Coffin, Eli Wilson, and Benajah W. Hiatt of Richmond, Indiana. These three Friends came to their decision during Indiana

[1] From a personal account of William F. Harvey, a former teacher in the mission and son of a former superintendent. Letter in Herman Newman's Collection.

Yearly Meeting in October 1854, and they started out on their journey of exploration soon after Yearly Meeting was over. They went by railroad to Terre Haute, from there to Saint Louis by stage, and from this point to Westport (now Kansas City) by steamboat, the last stage of the journey occupying five days.[1] Kansas City was then in its most primitive baby stage, though the "Landing" at this point on the Missouri was the eastern end of the already famous wagon trail westward to Santa Fé in New Mexico. The three Friends visited the Shawnee Mission, and the new colony of settlers established at Lawrence, and then started off, with a single pony to carry supplies, on a tour of observation. They pushed westward as far as the famous "Marais des Cygnes," a name given to the upper part of the Osage River. Here they proposed to locate their settlement, and here they staked out their claims. Their plans were, however, later changed by circumstances, and when the same party went out again in 1855 for permanent settlement the site selected for the first Quaker colony was on Stranger Creek, near the junction with Fall Creek, in Leavenworth County, not far from the present town of Springdale. William H. Coffin's account of the planting of this first Quaker pioneer venture in Kansas is interesting and vivid:

> Our object at that early day was to get as near the river and some good commercial point that would likely grow into a large city, as we could; to form a colony and get good land. We finally found a section of good, well-watered country, interspersed with groves of timber, and open, unclaimed prairie land sufficient to form a large settlement, just west of Big Stranger Creek, and lying between Fall and Walnut Creeks, some four miles apart, and from twelve to eighteen miles to the fort or city. At that day it was impossible to tell even where the lines of the best common roads would be located; and railroads had not yet been thought of only as an improvement in the far-distant future. Benajah and I bought off two Missourians who had taken heavy timber claims near the mouth of Fall Creek, and made prairie

[1] The most important document on the early settlement of Friends in Kansas is an account by William H. Coffin in *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. vii. pp. 323-361.

claims adjoining in the fine bottom and rising land as it receded from the creek on the north side. The broad, rich prairie land, waving with green grass and wild flowers of every kind, seemed to us a paradise for a young, energetic western farmer.[1]

Joel Hiatt, an uncle of William H. Coffin, had already settled in Kansas. He had been born a Friend, but had left the Society, though he still had a warm regard for it and finally returned to membership in it. He drove out to see the new settlement that was forming on Stranger Creek and prophesied a great future for it. Sitting on his horse, looking out over the expanse of prairie, he suddenly said: "I can see from here a strong Quaker settlement and meeting. Right over yonder," pointing north to a grove of timber about two miles away, "will be the Quaker meeting-house. I can see them now coming from every direction to it—and I can hear some one preaching." Then rising in his stirrups he intoned the words familiar in every Friends' meeting of the period: "Keep silence before me, O Islands, and let the people renew their strength!" All the features of this prediction were literally fulfilled, and for more than thirty years a large body of Friends met for meetings on the very spot indicated.[2]

In the autumn of 1855 the families of these first pioneers arrived and additions to the group began to come. Kansas had already become a danger zone for free-soil men. Plans had been matured by the pro-slavery leaders to terrorize the incoming settlers, and to check immigration before the pioneers of freedom should be strong enough to make a stand. Joel Hiatt, who was on good terms with the pro-slavery leaders, explained to them that Friends were peaceable people, lovers and makers of peace, opposed to violence, law-abiding citizens, and that they could safely be left unmolested. This account of the Quaker settlers, which, of course, they themselves had no share in spreading abroad, had its influence upon the leaders of raiding parties, and tended to make Friends more or less safe in the midst of sur-

[1] *Kan. Hist. Col.* vol. vii. p. 327.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. vii. p. 329.

rounding dangers. During the "Wakarusa War" in the autumn of 1855, which consisted of a series of movements between the pro-slavery forces and the free-soil men in the country about Lawrence, Joel Hiatt had considerable influence in bringing the affair to an end without more serious consequences than the killing of Thomas W. Barber, who was considered in the north to be a martyr for the cause of freedom.[1] All through the following winter scouting parties were busy on both sides and the tension was steadily increasing. In January 1856 a free-soil rider came galloping into the young Quaker settlement on Stranger Creek and called upon the men to arm themselves and stand ready for an imminent attack. The famous "Kickapoo Rangers," a body of mounted Missouri raiders, were announced to be on their way to "clean out" the settlement and to drive all abolitionists from that part of Kansas.[2] William H. Coffin has given a moving account of what one Friend did in that intense crisis. It is as follows:

My wife was in the house with our four little children and knew nothing about it and I said nothing. We could expect no favour from such a body of men, composed, as they were, of the worst description of border men of the Jesse James type, and I had little confidence or expectation that a hurried rally of the neighbours would succeed in stopping them, organized as they were. I do not think that I was afraid at that time, being young and excitable, but my education was such I could not, with conscience, kill a man; but when I got to reasoning with myself about my duty in the protection of my family, my faith gave way. I had an excellent double-barrelled gun, and I took it outdoors and loaded it heavily with buckshot. It was near bed time; my wife and children soon went to sleep, and I barred the door and set my gun handy, and made up my mind I would shoot any man or set of men that undertook to break it. A cabin, built as they were of logs at that time, made a pretty good fort; but I could get no sleep, having laid down with my clothes

[1] Whittier commemorated his death in a well-known poem entitled "The Burial of Barber." For Joel Hiatt's part in the affair see *Kan. Hist. Col.* vol. vii. p. 333.

[2] This "raid" was in connection with the proposed election of State officers under the Topeka Constitution, a Free-Soil Constitution, the election being set for Jan. 15, 1856.

on. Finally, towards midnight I got up, wife and children peacefully sleeping, drew the loads from my gun and put it away; and then, on my knees, I told the Lord all about it and asked His protection; and so, casting all my care upon Him, I felt easy, went to bed, was soon asleep, and slept until sun-up the next morning. The free-state men had rallied in force the night before and had a battle; several men shot, one killed, and others wounded; but it had the effect to divert the route of those wicked men so that they had not reached our location, but crossed the Stranger higher up the stream.[1]

After this episode some of the Friends decided to withdraw from the settlement for a period, hoping that the gravest of the peril might have passed by before the winter was over. They took shelter in the Friends' Mission for six weeks, returning to their settlement in a terrifying blizzard which almost overwhelmed the little band, unprepared for a driving storm at a temperature of thirty below zero. The day following their return, in February 1856, the first Friends' meeting ever held in Kansas except in the Mission House met for devout worship in one of the homes of the settlement. The next three years were full of anxiety and danger. The critical issue of this period turned upon the selection of a Constitution for the admission of Kansas as a State. The Constitution drafted at Lecompton made slavery an accepted institution of the new State. The Topeka Constitution, on the other hand, and later the Wyandotte Constitution, forever prohibited slavery within the domain of Kansas. At every election, even for minor officials, the main issue was uppermost in the minds of both parties, and each was skirmishing for an advantage over the other. William Coffin has furnished an account of his experience at an election held at Leavenworth at this period for local officers:

We all went to Leavenworth City to cast our votes. A great many Missourians had come over from Platte county and were congregated in the streets. For some reason, they concluded to let the free-state men cast their votes, and then break up the poll.

[1] *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. vii. pp. 334, 335.

In the afternoon, when I had just voted, as James Wilson came next to me he was collared by an armed man and thrown to one side; and then a large body of men, armed with guns, revolvers and bowie-knives, knocked in the window at the voting place, captured and carried off the ballot box, and beat nearly to death one of the judges, Wetherald by name, a worthy young man and a member of our Society, living in the city. The free-state men were utterly overpowered by numbers and made no resistance, which was the very best thing, under the circumstances, to have done.[1]

It was in the critical days of this summer that the Shawnee Mission, which had sheltered the harassed Friends during the winter, had its own experience of border warfare. In August a troop of eighteen armed men came to the Mission House and took all the horses and saddles belonging to the establishment. The leader of the band pointed his gun at the superintendent and told him in forcible language that this was only a beginning of what he might expect if he did not forthwith leave Kansas.[2] No settler's horses were safe, while each month saw human life itself put more and more in peril, though the spirit and attitude of Friends gave them better protection than guns would have done. Throughout this eventful year, which included the "battle of Osawatomie," "the battle of Hickory Point" and John Brown's early exploits, the Friends were ringed about with constant dangers, but no Quaker suffered in life or limb. During this time of intense crisis, new families of Friends continued to move into the settlement, and the little meeting which began in Benajah Hiatt's cabin, in the timber between Fall and Stranger Creeks, steadily grew in size. In 1857 seats were built in an empty cabin and the meeting assembled there regularly twice each week. About the same time a Bible School, with classes for both children and adults, was organized and became a permanent feature of the settlement, it being the first Friends' Sunday School in Kansas. In December of this year the Friends on Stranger Creek

[1] *Kan. Hist. Col.* vol. vii. p. 336.
[2] *Minutes of Indiana Yearly Meeting* for 1856.

sent a request to Whitewater and Milford Monthly Meetings, to which most of them belonged, for the establishment of a Preparative Meeting. Fifty Friends signed the application. It was granted and a committee of prominent Friends was appointed by Whitewater Quarterly Meeting to visit Kansas and attend the opening of the new meeting, called "Kansas Preparative Meeting," which occurred 10th May 1858.[1] Members gifted with talents for both ministry and teaching joined the group the following year and the meeting became a strong spiritual influence in the pioneer community. During the summer of 1858, Daniel Barker of North Carolina, a prominent Minister, accompanied by his brother John Barker, of Indiana, visited Kansas Friends with "a religious concern." He had been deeply impressed, some years before leaving his home in North Carolina, with a vision which rested with great weight upon his mind. It seemed to him, in his "vision," that he was called of the Lord to go north and west in His service; and after travelling to the north-west, to the border of civilization, he "saw" a rich prairie country, but the people there seemed to be in great trouble, and as he passed over the fields he "saw" spots of blood and occasional dead bodies. The farther south he went the more blood he found, and finally dead bodies everywhere. When in his vision he asked what it all meant, he heard a voice say: "War and bloodshed shall not depart from the land until human slavery and oppression shall cease."[2] Ansel Rogers, a venerable Minister of the gospel, with a strange and remarkable history, joined the settlement in 1859 and added much to the *life* of the meeting. This was the year in which the Friends of this region built their first meeting-house, toward which Philadelphia Friends contributed $800. This same year a Monthly Meeting was set up, known as "Kansas Monthly Meeting."

Meantime other settlements were springing up in other sections of the harassed country. Richard Mendenhall and his brothers, David and Daniel, with their families,

[1] *Kan. Hist. Col.* vol. vii. p. 351. [2] *Ibid.* vol. vii. p. 352.

settled south of Osawatomie, soon after the date of the "battle of Osawatomie" (30th August 1856). Here the first Monthly Meeting in Kansas, Spring Grove Monthly Meeting, was established. Richard Mendenhall became an intimate friend of John Brown, often at this period called "Osawatomie Brown." In fact John Brown's friendship with Quakers was a novel feature of the later period of this strange man's life. They did not convince him of the truth of their peace position, but nevertheless their way of life made a strong impression upon him. Some of the Kansas settlers came from Springdale, Cedar County, Iowa, and to this interesting Iowa village, at this time almost entirely composed of Quakers, John Brown made three important visits. The first visit was in 1856, a brief visit, but one which revealed to him the strength of the abolition sentiment in Springdale. The next visit was in December 1857, and was of momentous importance in the formation of the plans later executed at Harper's Ferry. Another visit was made in 1858, after John Brown's raid into Missouri, where he took a dozen slaves from their owners and carried them away to freedom. He brought them to Springdale, expecting, with the help of the Springdale Quakers, to get them through to Canada, and succeeded in eluding his pursuers and in getting the slaves from Springdale to Chicago, where they were transmitted to their destination. When the great event in John Brown's life was transacted, two of his Springdale friends, Edwin and Barclay Coppoc, were members of his band.[1]

[1] For a fuller account see I. B. Richman's *John Brown among the Quakers* (Des Moines, 1894). Edwin Coppoc, who was executed in Virginia, had been expelled from the Society of Friends before joining John Brown's expedition. Barclay was a member at the time, but was later disowned on the ground that he "has neglected the attendance of our religious meetings and *is in the practice of bearing arms.*" An interesting minute was adopted by Springdale M.M. to the following effect: "While we believe that our principles of peace were never dearer to most of our members than now, we feel it to be cause of deep regret that those engaged in the late deplorable outbreak at Harper's Ferry have been entertained and otherwise encouraged by some of our members. While brought under a deep concern we desire to establish a forgiving feeling toward those who have been overtaken in weakness, and would tenderly admonish all to an increased watchfulness in the precepts of our Redeemer." Quoted from Jones, *The Quakers in Iowa*, p. 196.

The little Quaker settlement near Osawatomie was in a perilous spot, but these pioneers were divinely favoured and grew rapidly in numbers. From the first they held meetings for worship in each other's cabins, and they had a Preparative and Monthly Meeting as early as 1858.

The Cottonwood settlement, near Emporia, was contemporary with the two already mentioned. Ira Hadley was the first Quaker settler in this section. He migrated to Kansas in 1854, settling first about ten miles west of Kansas City. After making his first planting he explored the country as far as the Cottonwood River, where he took up a claim and built a cabin. He was soon joined by his wife and family, who had come from Indiana with an ox-team. These Friends were followed by Curtis Hiatt, Joseph Moon, Jonathan Wheeler, Daniel Rich, Milton Chamness and Andrew Hinshaw with their families, most of whom settled on the south side of the river. Shortly after a large settlement of Friends was formed on the north side of the river. As the river was much of the time not fordable, meetings were held at this early stage on both sides of the river. As the fellowship enlarged, other families, who had an important part in the history of Kansas Quakerism, came in—Stanley, Cox, Beals, Carter, Stout, Harris and many more. They came from North Carolina, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana and Iowa. After three years of meeting for worship in cabins, the Friends built a substantial meeting-house of the old-fashioned type, with middle partition and shutters, and with a long gallery for Ministers and Elders. Meetings both on First day and in the middle of the week were attended by practically all the Friends and by many others. Those who lived at a distance drove in to meeting in their ox-carts.[1]

Friends here though fairly remote from the border were harassed by the raids of the ruffians. Some murders were committed in the neighbourhood, and Ira Hadley

[1] I have drawn upon a letter written by Jacob V. Carter in the Newman Collection.

once had a narrow escape, being fired upon several times as he spurred his horse to his utmost speed to outdistance his pursuers.[1] A few of the families who had come to stake out homes withdrew from the scenes of danger and returned to the quieter localities from which they had migrated. But in spite of this surrender the Cottonwood settlement rapidly increased in numbers and in influence. Cottonwood Monthly Meeting dates from 1860, being established by Ackworth Quarterly Meeting in Iowa. One of the most interesting episodes in the life of Kansas Friends of the early pioneer period was the visit of Robert and Sarah Lindsey of England. They were famous itinerant Ministers who knew no limit to what they were willing to undergo of hardship and privation in order to carry their message to Friends in America. They visited the remotest centres and were ready to travel hundreds of miles to reach one lonely Quaker home. We shall frequently refer to them and we can hardly overestimate the importance of their services. They came up the Mississippi by steamer from New Orleans, embarking 3rd July 1858. Their account of the journey from the former city to St. Louis and thence to Kansas City is a very valuable piece of description of contemporary travel.[2] The account of these two Friends' visits to the meetings and homes of these pioneer communities is important enough and of sufficient interest to be given in somewhat lengthy selections:

First day morning, 21st 3rd mo. [1858]. At Friends' settlement among the Shawnee Indians, Kansas. About 5 o'clock yesterday afternoon we arrived at Kansas City on the border of the Missouri and Kansas States. This place has only been opened for the white settlers about two years, but the Friends' Mission has been established here many years. It stands upon and occupies a considerable space of rising ground. As we approached Kansas City there was a very animated scene. It is a very increasing place containing many good stores, and

[1] *A Summary History of Cottonwood Q.M.* (Emporia, Kansas, 1897), p. 1.

[2] This part of the Lindseys' diary is still unpublished. The original MS. is in Devonshire House Library. There is a good copy in Haverford College Library.

houses built of brick, and the site is well chosen upon high ground. A stage was waiting, by which we proceeded four miles; but having to go six miles further, and the sun near setting, we seemed under the necessity of paying five dollars to the coachman to take us there. We soon crossed the boundary line and entered the State of Kansas when prairie ground opened before us, covered with nice grass, and the soil is a deep black. We were kindly welcomed by the superintendent, Simon Harvey, who with his wife and daughter, a young man named Caleb Harvey who has the charge of the land, and his wife, a young woman who teaches the Indian children, and another young woman who assists in the house, form their staff. During the winter they have had twenty-four children, who are boarded and taught gratis; but owing to an epidemic which has been in the school, at present they have only ten.

Third day, 23rd. On First day we attended the usual meeting held in the schoolroom, when we had the company of several Indians, who were well dressed and quite civilized. Two of the men and one of their wives dined with us and spoke good English. About two years since, during the time of the disturbance, Friends were threatened with violence from the pro-slavery party, and it was concluded to give up the school for a while and leave the premises to a man and his wife. On the Friends' return they were much discouraged in finding things out of order and no coming crops to meet the wants of the family; but now things have brightened a little. Left the Mission yesterday accompanied by C. Harvey and his wife on our way to a settlement of Friends on Strangers Creek, eleven miles south-west of Leavenworth City. Our conveyance was an open waggon. Being all strangers to the road, we had to make frequent inquiries. Crossed the Kansas River on a flat, kept by a respectable Indian who was well dressed and spoke pretty good English. Understanding that some of his children could read English, we gave him some books for them. His dwelling was a good frame house and he owned 800 acres of land, some of which he pointed out to us, lying on the banks of the river. He spoke to us respecting white men fighting, and we were afterwards told that about two months since one of his brothers found some white men cutting down timber on his land, and on going to expostulate with them, one of the party shot and killed the Indian. The murderer escaped, but some others were taken and imprisoned. The Kansas River is the boundary line between the Kansas and Shawnee Indians. There are at present eight hundred and fifty of the former tribe and about nine hundred of the latter. We are now on the Delaware lands which

extend forty miles in length and about ten in breadth. Passed a mission for the Indians, and travelled over many miles of open prairie land without seeing either man, beast, or house. The prairies are now covered with withered grass which is burnt in the spring. We saw some on fire. The Indians in this state each hold 200 acres of land: *i.e.*, if a man has a wife and four children they hold 1200 acres of land; but not being fond of work they only cultivate sufficient to supply their own wants. We were on the road from half past six in the morning till half past eight at night in going to a place thirty miles from our starting-point. When within four miles of our destination we met with a person who was acquainted with the Friends and knew their settlement, so we hired and took him with us as far as Strangers Creek, which we forded, and in a short time reached the house of William Coffin, a son of our worthy friend, Elijah Coffin of Richmond, Indiana. W. C. has been here about four years, being one of the first settlers. His present residence is a log cabin containing one room and a wooden building used as a kitchen.

Fourth day, 24th. Attended meeting at the Friends' settlement at Strangers Creek in a small log cabin, used as a school and meeting-house. About forty persons attended including children. The Lord was mercifully pleased to own us, and my dear husband was strengthened to minister to some states present, beginning with the text, "A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of things which he possesseth." "Godliness with contentment is great gain," and the watchword to some seemed to be, "If riches increase set not your heart upon them." Caution and counsel followed, and we had a pleasant time together. Dined at Benajah Hiatt's, who settled here at the same time as W. Coffin. Their wives are sisters. In the evening rode a few miles to the house of Henry Worthington who came here from Philadelphia about six months ago, where he had been engaged in business; but becoming unfortunate, he has taken some land and lives in a log cabin containing one room about twelve feet square. They formerly lived in a house of fourteen rooms. The wife received a superior education, but now instead of amusing herself with her pencil and books, is endeavouring cheerfully to fulfil the duties which now necessarily devolve upon her, having to act the part of a farmer's wife in a newly settled state. They have five interesting children, the eldest of whom is about fifteen years old. It was truly pleasant to see how each lent a hand, and how cheerfully they appeared to accommodate themselves to their present circumstances. The eldest boys worked on the land, and a little one, five years old,

delighted to crack his whip and to be amongst the cattle. H. Worthington is a very interesting man, and told us that he had been happier during the last six months than for twelve years previously. A snug little corner was shielded off where we slept. Two other beds were in the room.

26th. Yesterday morning, accompanied by H. W., his wife and two children, we set out in our Friends' waggon, drawn by two oxen, to the house of Thomas Newby (distant six miles) whose wife is a sister of Jane Dickinson who formerly lived at Brighouse with Aunt Cooper. We had rather a long and weary drive, having to cross several ravines. We found our friends living in a small, rude log cabin, but they are an interesting couple, having two small children. After spending a few hours in a social and more solemn manner, we left by the same conveyance. The Kansas waggons are like a large open box, nearly four feet wide and eleven feet long. The outside is generally painted green, panelled with yellow, and flowers painted on the panels. Left our Friend and the waggon, and called at the house of James Wilson, who has lately married and settled here. After conversing a little our minds became solemnized, and after a time of silence my R. L. addressed the young Friends. After a religious opportunity with our host and family, which seemed to set us at liberty to leave the settlement, our Friends having furnished us with a covered carriage and a pair of horses, we set out to visit the other settlements of Friends in this state, accompanied by our kind Friend, Benajah Hiatt as driver and guide. Before proceeding further I will mention that the settlers in this neighbourhood suffered much during the late political disturbances, the pro-slavery party stopping supplies of food at a time when many persons were not prepared for it. When steamboats arrived at Leavenworth City from the free states they were often plundered of their goods and stores and sent back. Supplies coming into the neighbourhood for settlers were taken to feed the soldiers of the pro-slavery men, and it was perilous for the settlers to leave home. Several of the Friends' horses were stolen, and some of them removed their families for a while. Leavenworth City is about eleven miles from the location of our Friends, on the banks of the Missouri River. Three years ago the ground which it covers was grown over with high bushes, but so rapid has been its growth that it now contains many good houses, and wholesale and retail stores, and the inhabitants are said to be nine thousand. It is a ready market for the produce of the neighbouring settlers, who seem likely to do well. Some of the first immigrants only gave two and one-half dollars per acre for their land, which is well situated, and they have a good supply

of timber and water. The bluffs abound with good stone. Limestone is abundant, and there is plenty of wild fruit, consisting of gooseberries, plums, grapes, etc., etc. There is a constant stream of fresh air on the prairies, and the Friends have wisely chosen sites for their cabins on the open ground, instead of in the valleys amongst the trees and creeks, where chills and fevers generally prevail. After leaving the settlement of Friends at Strangers Creek we soon entered the Delaware Indian reservation, and travelled over about twelve miles of open prairie without coming to a single house. The first in our track was a good new building belonging to an Indian Chief, and used as an Inn for the accommodation of travellers. The Indians' houses in this part of the state are the best we see, some being two storeys high. They generally locate themselves on the margins of the rivers and creeks beside the woods. In riding along we passed a heap of stones, which our guide informed us was the grave of a young man who was taken prisoner and killed by the pro-slavery party. After a time our driver made a halt and told us that we had just passed a rattlesnake that was prepared to strike our horses, and on looking back, sure enough the reptile lay in the middle of the road, curled up with head erect. Our guide said he heard his rattle so turned the horses aside to avoid him. We all alighted and our friend soon killed the venomous creature with his whip and took the rattle from his tail. His length was about two feet, his colour light brown. There is a plant which grows in abundance on the prairies called the "Rattlesnake's Master," the root of which being pounded and applied to the wound of a person who has been bitten, draws out the poison. Hot stimulants are taken at the same time. During the day we forded the Ottawa and Osage Rivers. As the night approached we came in sight of a house, and went towards it to ask for lodgings, but finding only a company of men, we were directed to another dwelling at some distance. It was a large cabin inhabited by a numerous and respectable family. We were admitted on condition of occupying beds on the floor, as our host had company. The next house was some miles off, so we were glad to get a shelter. Supper was prepared for us; but instead of sleeping on the floor my dear husband and myself were shown to a bed with curtains. Our friend slept on the floor; our host and his wife on a bed in the same room. The younger branches of the family and other guests occupying the loft. Thankfulness filled my heart in seeing how we were provided for without any contrivance of our own.

First day, 28th. Commenced our journey after breakfast yesterday morning. The prairies we passed over were more level with high bluffs. Stones were abundant. We passed

numerous creeks, the margins of which had a thick border of trees. Part of our day's journey was over land belonging to the Ottawa tribe of Indians. As usual, they were located on the banks of the creeks. In general they are not fond of work and would rather hire a white man to do it for them. But some begin to copy their more thrifty neighbours. They receive annuities from the Government for lands which they have sold. Made about thirty-five miles during the day, crossing Middle Creek and the Pottawatomie. Met with a kind welcome from Simon Jones' family near Osawatomie. Eleven families of Friends live in this neighbourhood, several of which are large. There are fifty-nine members, including children. They have been in the habit of holding a meeting for worship on First day morning in one of their houses for some time, when some of their neighbours frequently attend. This morning, a screen having been put up to keep off the wind, and planks being arranged for seats, we had our meeting in the open air. About one hundred persons attended. The canopy of Divine love was felt to spread over us, and ability was given to labour in the Lord's vineyard. Dined at David Mendenhall's and in the evening returned to S. Jones who had some of the most affectionate children I ever met with. It seems to be their greatest pleasure to attend upon and anticipate our wants. This family came from N. Carolina eight months since, and they have a well-wooded farm of 160 acres for which they gave five hundred dollars. In the evening, after reading, we had a religious opportunity with the family, which seemed to clear the way for our departure.

Third day, 30th. The prairies which we passed over were flat, bounded by long, low bluffs. We saw some houses and improved farms. The town of Hiatt was on our track in which there are two houses. We rode over a prairie twenty miles in length, in which distance we only passed one dwelling-house. Crossed the Pottawatomie Creek at Greely, which is a small town consisting of a few huts. Sometimes we could neither see house nor tree as far as the eye could reach. The creeks have generally very high banks, but at present some of them are nearly dry. Numerous buffaloes cross these plains in summer time, and there are many wild deer, but we only saw a solitary wolf at a distance. The natural roads are generally very good, but some of them are rather indistinct. In some places a furrow is ploughed to show the track. It was nearly dark before we came to a house, and at last we found shelter under the roof of a settler named Parson who had a birthright in our Society. Two families of Friends and others who form parts reside at Le Roy, where

we held a meeting the following day in the house of R. Davis, who has a wife and one child. Their dwelling-house is situated in the woods and formed of logs placed one upon another, without the interstices being closed. There is no window and a hole serves the purpose of a door. The floor is nature's covering and very uneven from the projecting roots of trees. There is a fireplace but no chimney. The furniture consists of two beds, two chairs, and two boxes with some other little things. A number of chairs were brought by others, and in this simple dwelling fifteen persons met. The Lord was pleased to own us, and counsel and encouragement were given to some states present. Prayer was also offered for their preservation. Dined at the house of a neighbour and rode fifteen miles to Hampden, part of the way along the Neosho bottoms, low wet lands. Took up our quarters at Perry Mills, who has a large family.

1st, 4th mo. Yesterday morning we had a meeting in a school-house, twenty-six persons present. My R. L. addressed us from the text, "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, reproof, etc." The frequent reading of these records was encouraged, and the nature of true prayer and worship described. The difference shown between those petitions which were conceived in and arose from the heart, and those which were only uttered in a formal manner by the lips. Dined at P. Mills. This individual suffered much during the late disturbances. He was twice taken prisoner when going about his lawful business, and the ruffians were intending to hang him if another person had not interfered. A considerable number of his cattle were taken away besides provisions and other stores (he being a storekeeper). These things brought them very low for a time. Their habitation is a very humble dwelling containing only two rooms, but they treated us with great hospitality, giving up two beds for our use. But there seems reason to believe their means are on the increase, P. M. being a very energetic man. At 2 P.M. set out for Emporia, distant thirty-five miles. Passed through fine rich prairie land near the pretty little town of Otumwa, situated on rising ground. The last ten miles of our day's travel was over a flat district, where we only passed one house in a distance of ten miles. Night closed upon us and it seemed as if we might have to sleep in our carriage, but were cheered by seeing a light in the distance. On making toward it, found it to be a store, but were directed to a house at which we found entrance, but were informed the family were not prepared to accommodate travellers. On entering we found two large unfinished rooms without windows, and had to sleep close by an opening through which we had an over-abundance of damp air

from the river close by. A town was laid out here to be called Florence, which they were hoping to make the County seat. Crossed the Neosho River in the morning, and on our arrival at Emporia, made inquiry for some Friends, but found the houses of two who lived in town locked up and no one in them. But we found two other families a few miles distant living in log cabins. One family consisted of a man and his wife with eight children, several of whom were grown up. A meeting had sometimes been held at one of their houses, and after making some arrangements we returned to town and took up our quarters at the only Inn in the place, and found it a great privilege to have a little quiet, and no little luxury to have a lodging room to ourselves.

Fourth day, 2nd. Attended an appointed meeting at Curtis Hiatt's, Cottonwood Creek and Neosho River, near Emporia, when we had the company of about thirty members of our Society, including children. Several neighbours were present and there seemed to be great openness in speaking of those things which appertain to our present and eternal welfare. At my dear husband's request we had a private interview with the Friends, when he expressed his feelings of Christian interest in their behalf. It seemed that some of them were but little known to each other. Dined at Andrew Hinshaw's, where we met with Thomas Stanley, to whose house we were intending to go the following day and get instructions from him respecting the route which we should have to take. Having endeavoured to draw the members of our Society together who are scattered around here, we have much enjoyed a leisure afternoon spent in writing in our little private room.

Benajah Hiatt, in a personal letter, says that as travelling companion to the Lindseys he went fifteen hundred miles with these visiting Friends. He speaks of their ministry as prophetic and marked with power. Many persons were converted through their preaching and personal intercourse. Most of their meetings were held in the open air, in groves of lofty trees, the entire population of the country around about the centre where the meeting was held coming in to hear the English visitors.[1]

The year 1860 was the time of greatest crisis in the history of the Kansas settlements. The "reign of terror"

[1] Letter of B. W. Hiatt in the Newman Collection.

instigated by the "border ruffians" was happily almost over. Kansas had already settled for ever the fact that it belonged in the column of free States. But this year a new peril appeared in the triple form of drought, locusts and famine. During what came to be called "a year of thirteen months" no rain of any consequence fell. The sky for the most of this long period was cloudless, though there was one great snowfall about Christmas of 1860. Wells failed, streams dried up, the earth was parched, scorched and cracked, while dry, hot winds which were almost unbearable swept across the prairies. To make matters even worse a vast migration of locusts came in swarms, which often appeared like clouds, eating up what the drought had not utterly destroyed. It was an appalling situation, and many settlers left Kansas in despair. Most of the Friends, however, remained. Friends in the east, with their usual liberality, responded generously to meet the desperate need. Money and provisions in large quantity were sent out and were distributed in the Quaker settlements by William H. Coffin and Ansel Rogers.[1]

Education was one of the first concerns of the Friends in Kansas, as it always has been of Friends in any part of the world. Their first school, which was in fact the first white school in Leavenworth County, was situated on Fall Creek, near Springdale, and was held in the house built by Benajah Hiatt, beginning in June 1856. It was used for a school-house week days, and for a meeting-house on First day. The school was taught in its first stage by V. K. Stanley and had eighteen pupils. It was broken up in the autumn of its first year by an invasion of "border ruffians." A man in the neighbourhood was killed and scalped after the manner of the Indians, and the school children were filled with a natural terror. This primitive school-house was built of unhewn logs, the cracks being filled with "chinks" (*i.e.* pieces of split timber) and of mortar composed of mud and prairie grass roots. It possessed two small windows. The floor was

[1] *Kansas Hist. Col.* vol. vii. p. 354, and J. V. Carter's account in Newman Collection.

made of hewed oak logs.[1] Friends on the Cottonwood also started a school early in the history of their settlement, *i.e.* in the autumn of 1860. It was taught at first by Jacob V. Carter, who had sixty pupils, about a third of whom were Friends. Rachel Bales, afterwards well known as a Minister of the gospel, her married name being Rachel Woodward, taught the school in the summer of 1861. William Bales also taught a Monthly Meeting school at Cottonwood a little later, and then Jacob V. Carter taught again. Many who afterwards became prominent Ministers and leaders in the Society had their early education in these primitive schools. The later stages of Quaker education in Kansas have been considered in another chapter.

A group of Friends formed in Douglas County in the locality later known by the name of Hesper, about the year 1860. Many of the settlers in this community came from Iowa, though there were also immigrants from Indiana and North Carolina. There were Mendenhalls, Woodwards, Holidays, Barnards, Durhams, Updegraffs, Coffins, Gardiners, and families by the name of Rogers, Davis and Jones. They held their first meeting for worship in 1860, and built their first meeting-house a year later. A school and a Bible school were soon started. The Monthly Meeting at Hesper was established in 1864 by Kansas Quarterly Meeting, which itself had been established in 1862 by Indiana Yearly Meeting. Cottonwood Quarterly Meeting was the next in order, being established in 1868. In 1869 Kansas Quarterly Meeting was divided into two, which were named Springdale and Hesper. While the meetings of Friends were thus growing rapidly in strength in the north-eastern section of the State—Kansas became a State in January 1861—an important settlement was being made in the south-eastern part of it, which came to be known as the Spring River section. The first settlers located in the strip owned by the Cherokee Indians in the valley, and ever since called Quaker Valley. A meeting was held here as early as

[1] MS. in Newman Collection.

1866, made up of Haworths, Mardocks, Cammacks, Horners, Wrights, Beesons, Pickerings, Barnetts and others. Soon after the Civil War was over and slavery was abolished, a large body of Friends settled in Jasper County, Missouri, not far from the Spring River settlement in Kansas. The group was composed of substantial Friends from Iowa, Illinois, Indiana and Ohio. They were organized as Union Monthly Meeting in 1868. In 1869 the Friends of these two localities were granted a Quarterly Meeting, called Spring River, the fourth in Kansas. Jeremiah Hubbard, famous in the history of Kansas Quakerism, belonged to Union Monthly Meeting.

In 1869 Friends in Kansas requested Indiana Yearly Meeting to establish a Yearly Meeting in Kansas. The request was favourably considered and the other American Yearly Meetings were asked to express their opinion. No objection appearing, the new Yearly Meeting was authorized to open in October 1872. William Nicholson, a native of North Carolina, a man of great gifts, was chosen clerk of the body and remained for many years a statesmanlike leader among the Friends of this section. The membership of the new Yearly Meeting at this period numbered about 3000.[1]

The Friends who had left their homes, sometimes in the old slave States of the east and sometimes in the newer regions where they or their parents had recently settled after an earlier migration, to go into Kansas to carve out new homes, to help save this great territory from the blight of slavery and to make it an area of real freedom, were persons of more than ordinary virility, and at the same time they were possessed of a fine spirit of idealism. Hardships and danger did not disturb them. They knew how to be happy in rude log cabins or in low sod huts. They were inspired by a vision of better things to be secured through their faith and work, and in that vision they went forth not knowing wholly whither they went. "Border ruffians" did not terrify them when once

[1] The Y.M. statistics of 1872 make the membership 2640, but these figures were incomplete. See *Friends' Review*, vol. xxvi. p. 153.

they had settled in their own minds that God wanted them to be in Kansas. They were of the rural type, and the same is true of those who built up the Yearly Meeting north of them in Iowa. They were accustomed to toil with their own hands. They did not expect ease; they did not even desire it. They had no dreams of wealth. Homes they did want, real homes where they could find love and fellowship in their toil and suffering, and where they could nurture their children for good lives and for the spiritual worship of God, in the manner of their fathers. They fairly represented the rank and file of the Quakers in America. They were diligent, honest, dependable people of limited education, but what education they had was good as far as it had gone. The things they knew they really *knew*. The religious cultivation of the inner life and spirit had given them something which was at least a good substitute for what is sometimes called "breeding." There was a certain element of unmistakable grace in these pioneer people.

In their religious activities they still followed the beaten paths of Quaker customs. They kept generally to the forms of speech and dress that had come to be recognized as peculiar to Quakerism. They built their meeting-houses to fit the type approved by former generations. They preserved the calm and solid demeanour that had always marked Friends. They gathered in silence before God in their pioneer meetings, and their ministry and supplications were characterized by a sense of awe and solemnity. Those who broke the silence did so only when they felt moved by an inward compulsion. They had a zeal for scripture study, but it was still of the old-fashioned type, consisting largely of learning passages to recite, or of very simple and obvious interpretation of lesson-sections. Historical insight was naturally lacking, but at least love of the great Book was cultivated. Their Ministers were numerous in proportion to the membership, and devoted in spirit. They were limited in their range and power of interpretation, but they made the spiritual hope seem real, and they bore a consistent testimony to

the *truth* of the way of life which Christ revealed. The business of the meetings covered a very restricted field dealing almost entirely with matters of Quaker Discipline, but here as in other parts of Quakerism the meetings fostered a wholesome and valuable type of piety, and an important group or corporate spirit. One might well have predicted in 1872, when Kansas Yearly Meeting began, that Quakerism was to have a great sphere of moral influence and of spiritual power in Kansas. It was expanding rapidly in every direction, and in the next twenty-five years the Yearly Meeting grew to be a body of over ten thousand members, reaching south into Oklahoma as well as into western Kansas. Instead of four Quarterly Meetings it had fifteen. It touched intimately the lives of the Indians in Kansas and in Indian Territory, and at one time it had over five hundred Indians in its organic membership, including two remarkable Modoc chiefs, "Scar-faced Charlie" and "Steamboat Frank." It advanced its interests in education and, as we have seen in a former chapter, built an important group of academies and finally a college. It underwent, as will appear, a profound transformation after the revival wave swept over it, and it experienced a small separation which will be briefly reviewed in another chapter. Its history after the formation of the Yearly Meeting can properly merge into the larger general movement and does not need to be followed in detail.

What has been said of Quakerism in Kansas can be applied almost equally well to the Quakerism which had a little earlier spread through the counties of Iowa. The Yearly Meeting in the latter State dates from 1863, at which time there were five Quarterly Meetings—Salem, Pleasant Plain, Red Cedar, Western Plain (later called Bangor), South River—with an estimated membership of six thousand.[1] The numbers steadily increased until the maximum of 11,415 was reached in 1893. In type the Iowa Friends were in almost every respect like the Friends of Kansas. They did not face conditions as difficult as

[1] The statistical report of the Y.M. for 1868 gives 7639 members.

did those in Kansas, and for that reason the quality of idealism was not as marked perhaps in the case of the former as in that of the latter. But both had the pioneer spirit, both had made new homes on the prairie, and both hoped to help make a new western civilization with religion dominant and dynamic in it. In both Yearly Meetings education was raised to a place of first importance, and the formation of Christian homes, filled with an atmosphere of light and love, was an essential part of life. It looked as though Quakerism beyond the Mississippi might free itself from the forms and customs, the narrowness and the limitations that had more or less hampered it in the old, settled localities, and that a new era of expanding life might now open for it. Here were large centres of Friends who were forward-looking with vision in their eyes.

CHAPTER XXII

THE GREAT REVIVAL

We have followed, in preceding chapters, the story of the lamentable cleavages and the partial wrecking of the Society of Friends in America. There was, however, a seed of life still left. Only after years of transformation, discipline and experience could a union of the separated branches be thought of, but there was always a chance that new prophetic leaders might arise in any one of the branches, a real revival might renew the life of the Society and an unexpected mission might open before it, large enough to fulfil the promise of primitive Quakerism.

The first significant awakening after the separations came to the Gurneyite section of the orthodox branch in America, and almost simultaneously there came in English Quakerism an awakening, similar at first to the American one, but later sharply differentiating from it and following quite different lines of development. This awakening began to appear in many places in positive fashion about the year 1860. It burst upon the Society in America as a religious revival and it was throughout marked by a profound evangelical tone and fervour. It swept on from meeting to meeting and from State to State until every section of the country was touched by it and it finally transformed the fundamental character of Quakerism in America. It closed one epoch and inaugurated another, and it began at the same time a new type of Quakerism.

We have seen already that the main body of the Society, both in England and America, ever since the

opening of the nineteenth century showed a strong evangelical tendency. Christianity was more and more being thought of by Friends in evangelical terms. It was, in the last analysis, the sweep of the evangelical current which produced both the large separations, and the divisions once more increased, rather than lessened, the volume of this current. All the time from 1828 onward the orthodox branch was growing more intense in its evangelical fervour and a *revival* of this type of religion was unconsciously in preparation, though yet for more than a quarter of a century the conservative forces were strong enough to keep it from bursting over the dams. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) was the centre of conservatism, but at the same time this Yearly Meeting had gone further than perhaps any other in the direction of orthodox theology. All its statements of faith, adopted to meet the two separations, were in complete accord with the system of theology prevailing in the evangelical churches. The approved Ministers of this Yearly Meeting dwelt strongly in their preaching upon the ruined nature of man and his "undone condition." The phrase, "We have nothing of ourselves to offer," or "we can do nothing of ourselves," came as a refrain in nearly every sermon. "The worm of the dust" conception of man was familiar to every member. The efficacy of the historical atonement and the entire "plan of salvation" were taken as essential doctrines, though the inward Light still continued to be in a confused way the corner-stone of Quakerism. The confusion of ideas was not noticed and disturbed nobody until a critical period came.

The important point for our present purpose is that even in the strongholds of conservatism the underlying theology was evangelical and a real change of fundamental thought had taken place, though these Friends were unaware of the significant change of front. Notwithstanding this gradual absorption of evangelical ideas, the conservative element in Philadelphia and elsewhere still believed that it represented old-time Quakerism in all its

purity, and that it was in the apostolic succession from the founders. In Philadelphia naturally a *revival* was least likely to appear, and it was certain to be met with opposition as an innovation if it should break out in other sections of the country and be brought to Philadelphia by its advocates and exponents.

The influences which formed and intensified the movement in the direction of evangelical revival came in large measure from England, though Stephen Grellet was leading in the same direction. American Friends were in general more conservative than the English Friends were. The former were more out of touch with outside forces and movements than were the latter, and the early leaders of evangelical Quakerism were English. Joseph John Gurney and William Forster stand out in especial prominence, but they were only impressive specimens of a very large class, and for twenty-five years these English leaders brought the power of their message and the attraction of their personalities to bear upon the individuals and meetings of the Society in America. There were, as we shall see, native forces working in this country in the same direction, but it remains nevertheless true that the English influence was the main element that wrought the transformation. The English Quaker evangelicals early became possessed with a passion to serve humanity and with a corresponding passion for the salvation of souls. This double passion burned like a flame in the Gurney group. But it was no less strong in William Forster and in William Allen and in Joseph Sturge.[1] It is not easy to match among the spiritual leaders of any denomination the sacrificial zeal of this little band of evangelical Quakers, who bore the slave on their hearts as though they suffered all his tortures with him, who took up the sufferings of Newgate prisoners as though they shared a common fate with the prisoners, and who at the same time carried on their hearts the travail and tragedy of sin in all lives around them. The visits

[1] I shall deal later in this chapter with the visits of a number of English evangelical leaders.

to America of Joseph John Gurney and William Forster and of many more of the same spirit, and the reading of the *Journals* of these Quaker evangelical reformers, left an ineffaceable impression upon the life and thought of the membership.[1]

Among the many concrete influences which prepared for the new epoch, both in England and America, the birth of the missionary spirit must be given a prominent place. Friends were very slow in discovering that they had a part in the evangelization of the non-Christian races and peoples. They were for many years estopped from entering this field in any organized way by what was long believed to be a fundamental Quaker principle, namely, that no religious work could be rightly done unless it were divinely laid upon some individual as a "concern" for him to carry out. Each piece of work, each spiritual undertaking they believed must be first "opened" in some person's heart as a fresh call of God, and the only business of the Society in the matter consisted in endorsing the "concern" and in assisting the person who was called to carry through the undertaking that had been laid upon him. To organize for work of any kind was "creaturely activity." It was an unwarrantable finite contrivance, a bold assumption that God must work along lines of human choosing, an attempt to anticipate the free course of the Spirit which bloweth as it listeth. This relic of Quietism lay like a heavy weight upon the entire body of Quakerism and made it impossible for any co-operative work for the great needy human world to be begun. Every suggestion was met with a quietus, with a *non possumus*. The Church cannot *send* a messenger. The Church cannot take up this sacred task. Only God

[1] At the age of eighteen William Forster reveals in his diary the deep evangelical note which never slackened while he lived. He wrote: "Most holy Jesus! Thou that art, that wast, that art to come—my Saviour, my Redeemer, my only hope of glory—I feel my weakness very great; how much I have need of Thy holy aid. My sins are many, yea, very many. The old man of sin hath yet very deep root in my heart; and I am persuaded afresh this morning that there is no other way *feelingly to know* a remission of sins, than by an unreserved dedication of my heart to Thy divine will; and through faith in Thee, in Thy power, in Thy blood which was shed without the gates of Jerusalem for the sins of us poor mortals." *Journal*, vol. i. p. 16.

can *send*. Only by direct revelation can any spiritual work be inaugurated.

A definite proposal was forwarded to London Yearly Meeting in 1830 by Bristol and Somerset Quarterly Meeting to the effect that Friends should consider the propriety of taking up the work of spreading the gospel in heathen lands. The Yearly Meeting was not yet ripe for such a forward step, though the *principle* of foreign mission work received considerable sanction. The settled Quaker attitude of the time, however, comes clearly to view in a personal letter which this proposal from the Quarterly Meeting called out. It was written by Olive Dymond, junior, of Exeter, to John Cadbury of Birmingham, and was as follows:

I suppose thou heard at G[eorge] D[ymond]'s at Bristol of the "missionary proposition" having passed the Q.M. there. We are told it did pass, but we can scarcely tell how to believe it. I think if it is to go to the Y.M. in the form which we hear it is, many amongst us will be much astonished. It would seem as if the Somersetshire Q.M. had lost sight of the fundamental principle of our Society. We hear the proposition runs thus—or words to this effect: "We propose to the Y.M. to consider whether the time be not come for Friends to take some more active measures for spreading the glad tidings of the gospel amongst the heathen." I know not what we can understand by this, unless it be that they wish to consider whether the time is not come for *sending* out ministers. We hear the subject was not brought forward at the Bristol Q.M. until 9 o'clock in the evening, at an adjourned meeting, and that Friends were then too much exhausted to enter into much feeling on the subject; so that it passed almost without opposition.[1]

One effect of the proposal appears in the general Epistle of that year. The definite step was not taken, but a real missionary spirit flamed out, full of promise for future action. Here is a passage which reveals the spiritual travail of the live part of the meeting:

True Christian love has no limits: when it governs and takes possession of the heart, it leads us to consider every country as

[1] Hodgkin's *Friends Beyond Seas*, p. 28, footnote.

our country, and every man as our brother. Under, we trust, some sense of its heavenly influence, and of the inestimable blessings of the gospel of Christ, we reverently desire that it may please the Lord to hasten the coming of that day, when from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, His name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered unto His name, and a pure offering.[1]

While it was not possible, during these formative years, for organized and co-operative work to begin on account of the force of the inhibitive quietist principle, some striking instances of individual faithfulness to the missionary call stand out in real splendour. The Society as a corporate body did not hear the call yet, but some of its prophets on the watch-towers heard the cry, "What of the night; is it ever to break?" and answered the summons with an unreserved obedience. These individual instances worked like a leaven, and the accounts which these men brought back of the response that was given in remote lands to their message revealed what might be accomplished if once the whole body became awake and dedicated itself to service. The three most significant instances of this Quaker apostolic work in the early part of the last century were the individual missionary undertakings of Thomas Shillitoe, Stephen Grellet and Daniel Wheeler. I have already used the experiences of these three wonderful men to illustrate other aspects of Quaker faith and practice. I shall refer now only to the part they took in inaugurating mission work abroad and in arousing the Society to a sense of its positive tasks.

Thomas Shillitoe held most tenaciously to the prevailing peculiarities and customs. He went further than most Friends in the direction of Quietism. He would undertake nothing without a direct "moving." But he was possessed and mastered by the desire to be a mighty divine instrument for the salvation of souls and for the relief of human suffering. He had in high degree the deep, first-hand *feel* of the awful meaning and power of sin, and he throbbed with an absorbing passion to help to

[1] *Epistles of London Y.M.*, vol. ii. p. 240.

liberate men from it. His work in 1810 and 1811 in the drinking-houses of Ireland is a unique piece of religious devotion. When opposers asked him for his "authority," his answer was, "My authority is here in my own breast!" Then came the no less remarkable work in 1812 among the outlawed "Gang" in the neighbourhood of Kingswood, when his absolute confidence in divine protection and guidance carried him through great dangers and enabled him to reach the witness in the hardest hearts and in the most abandoned lives. With such preparation, he went forth in 1821 and again in 1824 to perform, under what seemed to him divine direction even in most minute matters, an extensive and truly extraordinary mission through the countries of northern Europe and in southern France. He *felt* his way along by a sort of intuition, and discovered individual mystics and groups of mystics, with whom he had much in common, and to whom he could effectively minister wherever he could find interpreters of his English speech. His greatest mission was to the long-suffering and spiritually neglected prisoners in the European prisons. To them he came almost as a visitor from heaven and his messages went straight to the hearts of men who did not suppose anybody on earth had any interest in their eternal welfare. Another impressive feature of these continental visits was the spiritual influence which Thomas Shillitoe had with the rulers of Europe, their families and their counsellors. The way in which he secured audiences with the crowned heads and the most exalted people in Europe, the straightforward message which he delivered to them, and the evident response which his words met in almost all places produce a sense of awe in the modern reader who no longer expects such near-miracles to happen. What one cannot help feeling, however, is that the sporadic character of this work, the failure to carry any beginning through to an end or to follow up the happy openings with organized plans, resulted in waste of power. There can be no doubt that individuals were aroused and stimulated to live better lives and some permanent effects probably attended

Shillitoe's faithful labours, but there was nobody to feed the fires which he kindled, and no steadily unfolding plans carried forward what he began.

The same is true of the still more remarkable work of Stephen Grellet. No other influence was as great as that of the ministry of this French convert to Quakerism in carrying the Society of Friends in America over to an out and out evangelical interpretation of Christianity, nor did any one else in the Society at this period to the same extent realize that the whole world was the parish of a true Minister of the gospel. His first visit to Europe in 1807 was much like that of other itinerant Friends. He went as the bearer of a spiritual message to the group of newly discovered Friends in the south of France, and he visited the scenes of his youth and the surviving members of his own family. The second visit (1810–1814) broadened out and revealed a widened apostolic conception of his religious mission. He now hunted out the prepared souls in the various parts of Europe, the little groups of mystics and pietists, inspirants and Mennonites, and refreshed them. He took every available opportunity to preach to people who seldom or never heard the pure message of salvation. The door was so open and the call for service so wide that he wrote:

> The fields in many parts I have visited are white unto harvest, so that sometimes I have wished that I might have the life of Methuselah, or that the sun might never go down, that I might do my share of that great work which is to be done in these nations. There is a most precious seed in these parts. . . . Many are ready to gather to the standard of Truth, from among the various denominations and ranks. I have been with rich and poor, princes and princesses, Protestant ministers and Popish priests, all speaking but one language, not upholding forms and ceremonies, but Christ and His Spirit.[1]

Throughout the amazing work of these four years he poured out the richest gifts God had given him to reach the men where he travelled, and he tells us with touching fidelity to truth that he entered so deeply into sympathy

[1] *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 289.

with afflicted humanity that it felt to him as if his own soul "were brought into their soul's stead."[1] The third journey overseas (1817-1820) and likewise the fourth (1831–1833) reached out still further and covered almost all parts of Europe and many places in the near East. He visited the Pope. He became the intimate and trusted friend of the Czar Alexander. He was able through the friendship of the Czar to work out reforms in prisons, improvement in public education, a system of Scripture study for the children, and to bring a fresh and first-hand gospel of life to bear upon the most prominent persons in St. Petersburg, including the Czar himself. What could be more touching than this scene from Stephen Grellet's first visit to the palace?

"Feeling," he writes, "my mind clothed with the Spirit of prayer and supplication, I bowed before the Divine Majesty on my knees; the Emperor kneeled by my side; we had a humbling and grateful sense that the Lord condescended graciously to hear our prayers; we continued a short time in silence afterwards—when we retired, the Emperor expressing a desire shortly to be with us again. We were about two hours with him."[2]

He found an open door of entrance to every royal family. He was welcomed in places where no Protestant had ever spoken. He comforted prisoners. He preached peace to war-worn soldiers. He strengthened the faith of multitudes of lonely seekers after inner Light. He inaugurated reforms, he instituted search after better methods of education. He made the Bible a live book to many who had no acquaintance with it. He convinced atheists and sceptics and he planted everywhere he went the seeds of evangelical religion. It is a story full of astonishing instances of guidance, strange events and unusual occurrences. It is a narrative of spiritual campaigns that have hardly a parallel. But here, again, it was the work of an individual going forth on his own initiative, divinely moved though it certainly was, and carrying along but slightly the religious body to which he belonged, and doing a sporadic work which was never followed up by any

[1] *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 318. [2] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 411.

unfolding plan of continuous effort. Stephen Grellet's work streams out like the wonderful blaze of a comet. It made a luminous trail of light across the continent of Europe, but it faded away and passed as sudden streams of light are wont to do. It did not carry the Society into any continuous mission for human help, though it did undoubtedly create unconsciously both in England and America a growing missionary spirit and an interest in world evangelization.

Daniel Wheeler's overseas labour was much closer to genuine foreign missionary work than was the continental labour of either Thomas Shillitoe or Stephen Grellet, and it marks a definite step forward in the girding of the Society of Friends for world tasks. Even yet, however, the figure of Daniel Wheeler stands out solitary and alone —like a spiritual Robinson Crusoe—going forth by the thrust of inner impulse, not knowing whither he went, and having no constructive plan for the conservation of the fruits of his bold venture.

Daniel Wheeler was born in London in 1771. His father died when he was a little boy, and not long after he was left motherless. He drifted into a seafaring life, had many hairbreadth adventures, became midshipman on a man-of-war, and had six years of experience in the naval service. Next he entered the army and went through another series of reckless adventures in the period of the wars following the French Revolution, being more than once on the perilous edge between life and death, but always seeming to be "preserved" for some inscrutable purpose. Later, in the West Indies, he was again and again in imminent peril from storm and disease and battle. One strange escape left a deep impression on his mind. He was shipped on a gallant vessel, and had been some weeks at sea when a transport collier came alongside. Under an inexplicable impulse Wheeler boarded the old collier and remained upon it. Not long after the vessel which he had deserted was caught in a hurricane and lost with all on board.

Gradually he had begun to revolt in spirit from the

life he was leading. He felt that he was made for a different career, and his preservations had given him a sense of divine oversight. Even while on the sea he felt himself visited by divine grace, and convinced by a mysterious work of the holy Spirit. Soon after this inward experience he joined the Society of Friends in Sheffield. This was in 1799. He entered into business in the seed-trade, married Jane Brady, a wise and sympathetic companion of his life, and in the happy, prosperous years, as his family was increasing, the Lord prepared him for unexpected apostolic service. His vision steadily enlarged, his gifts ripened, his experience became enriched, and in 1816 he was recorded a Minister by the Society of Friends.

About this time the impression had been forming in Daniel Wheeler's mind that the Lord was calling him to some great service, and by a sudden intimation he realized that it was to be in St. Petersburg. Early in 1817 Alexander of Russia asked for some English Friend to superintend the extensive agricultural experiments which he wished to make in his dominions. Daniel Wheeler felt the call, was accepted, and went with his family to St. Petersburg to carry through the unusual task. He became an intimate friend and trusted spiritual adviser of the great Czar. Here he assisted both Thomas Shillitoe and Stephen Grellet during their Russian labours, and he succeeded in draining nearly six thousand acres of waste land, and brought more than half that area under full cultivation.

But a greater mission was gradually forming in his soul, as he worked out the Russian land problems. He saw another field opening before him, and he could not doubt that he had been "preserved" for this, and saved by grace that he might be an instrument of grace to others. In 1832 he resigned his position in Russia, returned to England, and laid before his Friends a "concern" to visit the islands in the Pacific Ocean, together with New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. He told his Friends not to be influenced by affection, not to

spare him if their judgment did not approve of his proposal, but to let *Truth* have full victory in the matter. The various meetings, one after the other in ascending order, heard his extraordinary "call," endorsed it with their corporate sanction, and finally the Meeting for Sufferings made financial and practical provision for its execution. He had many deep experiences to travel through, and hard baptisms to be baptized with before he put forth, but toward the end of 1833, with his son Charles for companion, he sailed away from England in the *Henry Freeling*, which had been purchased and fitted out for this journey. They landed first at Rio de Janeiro, and then struck across for Hobart Town. The voyage was marked by many strange experiences in which the hand of the Lord seemed to the voyagers plainly revealed for their guidance and preservation. Out of their many storm-crises, one incident, which evidently appeared to Daniel Wheeler miraculous, will interest the reader:

The sea, having risen to a fearful height, frequently inundated the deck of the vessel; and from the continual working of her whole frame, our bed-places have been unfit to sleep in, the water having found its way through numerous chinks. This morning early a heavy sea broke into us, bringing a larger quantity of water upon the deck than at any time before. To myself a very remarkable and striking event took place this morning. Shortly after the vessel had shipped a heavy body of water I went up the hatchway to look round for a short interval; at that moment the seas were running in mountainous succession, and I observed that some of the loftiest of the waves were very nearly prevailing against our little vessel; it seemed as if she could not much longer escape being overwhelmed by them altogether. I made no remark to any one, but soon after we tried to get some breakfast: while so occupied, one of the men called down to inform us that there was a sight worth looking at on deck; it was a large collection of a species of whale, close by the ship. I thought I should like to see them; there were perhaps more than two hundred of these animals close to us, each about twelve feet long. When I went upon deck after breakfast they were still close to our bows; and the man at the helm said that they served as a breakwater for us: their being so was afterwards mentioned by some other person. At last my eyes were open to discover the protection they were affording to our little struggling vessel: they

occupied a considerable portion of the surface of the sea, in the exact direction between the vessel and the wind and waves, reaching so near to us, that some of them might have been struck with a harpoon; they remained constantly swimming in gentle and steady order, as if to maintain the position of a regular phalanx, and I suggested that nothing should be done to frighten them away. It was openly remarked by some, that not one sea had broken on board us, while they occupied their useful post; and when they at last retired, it was perceived that the waves did not rage with the same violence as before they came to our relief. I give this wonderful circumstance just as it occurred; and if any should be disposed to view it as a thing of chance, *I* do not; for I believe it to be one of the great and marvellous works of the Lord God Almighty. These friends in need, and friends indeed, filled up a sufficiently wide space upon two of the large swells of the ocean, completely to obstruct the approach of each succeeding wave opposed to the vessel; so that if the third wave from us was coming in lofty foam towards us, by the time it had rolled over and become the second wave, its foaming threatening aspect was destroyed entirely, reaching us at last in the form of a dead and harmless swell.[1]

At Hobart Town, in what was then called Van Diemen's Land, now Tasmania, Daniel Wheeler met James Backhouse and his companion, G. W. Walker. James Backhouse was another forerunner of Quaker foreign missionary work. He was born in Darlington in 1794, became an intensely evangelical Minister of the gospel, and in 1830 felt a call to pay a religious visit to Australia, Tasmania and some of the islands of Australasia, with a special "concern" for the men in the penal colonies. This mission had rested on the heart of Thomas Shillitoe, who found himself unable to accomplish it. With an unescapable summons the call now came to the Darlington Friend who went forth in 1831 and remained faithfully at this service for ten years.

Daniel Wheeler joined James Backhouse in the spiritual work among the convicts of the various colonies, and they proved to be the bringers of light and new life to many who had lost hope of any joyous future here or hereafter. They gathered together the Friends scattered about in Tasmania and Australia (New South Wales) and held the

[1] *Memoirs of Daniel Wheeler* (London, 1842), pp. 267, 268.

first General Meeting in this new field. They strengthened the missionaries, encouraged the Christian Ministers, refreshed the lonely pioneer settlers, and spread a spiritual fragrance wherever they went. After fulfilling his concern for Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales, Daniel Wheeler and his party set out to accomplish his mission in the Pacific Islands. He took James Backhouse and his companion with him in his ship to carry them to Norfolk Island, which was a lonely penal colony for men who were to be isolated from the other colonies. The two men were left on the tiny penal island to carry on their labour of love, while father and son, in the *Henry Freeling*, sailed away to Tahiti.[1] His work among the natives of Tahiti and the neighbouring islands, his messages to the missionaries, his meetings with the sailors, his labours against intemperance, his efforts to promote the circulation of the Bible, were of the highest importance. He was everywhere saddened by the discovery, which he constantly made, of the harmful influence of the sailors and sometimes of the traders over the natives of the various islands, and he exerted himself in every way that offered to change the hearts of seamen, and at the same time to make it more difficult for the unscrupulous to debauch and exploit the simple-minded and unsuspecting people of the islands. In all this work the utmost wisdom was needed, and only a fearless man actuated by pure and unalloyed goodness of heart could have succeeded as he did. His words invariably were tipped with power and went straight home. Each step was taken only as it was "opened" to him, and all his messages were uttered under a sense of immediate inspiration. The Sandwich Islands, the Friendly Islands, the Society and Harvey Islands were in like manner visited. The strength and comfort which he brought to the missionaries in the Sandwich Islands particularly stand out in clear relief, and among the many unusual

[1] James Backhouse wrote an interesting account of his labours in *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies* (London, 1843). See also his *Memoir*, by his sister (London, 1870).

experiences mention may especially be made of the Quaker meeting, held in Hawaii (or Owyhee, as they called it), attended by the white inhabitants and crowds of natives and half-castes, all bowed in reverent silence, until a great message was poured through Daniel Wheeler for the motley group.

A letter which Daniel Wheeler received from a young native of Rarotonga, of the Harvey group of islands, shows very well the impression which the wonderful traveller made upon the responsive islanders. It was as follows:

This is my speech to you, Daniel Wheeler,—Read it, that you may know great is our joy in seeing your face, and in knowing your speech of God's great kindness to you. Attend,—I will relate to you the coming of God's word to us. We were heathens formerly,—we did not know the living God Jehovah. At that time the devil was our god;—we worshipped him, and did that which is agreeable to his will:—that was our condition formerly, Daniel Wheeler. Attend,—then arrived the season in which the word of the great God came to us—even of Jehovah, and the word of God spread among us in that season;—still listen,—God sent his servants to us, to inform us of the true way. Then the light sprung up in the midst of us. The word spoken by Isaiah the prophet was then fulfilled (chap. lx. verse 1): "Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee." Behold, the light of Jehovah came to this land, and the light of Jehovah dawned upon us: then the word of God spread on this land. The children know the word of God. Pittman taught us unweariedly, and in this likewise, behold the love of God to us.

Our friend and brother, Daniel Wheeler, I think of the kindness of God in conveying you from your land—from Britain. You have been directed by God to this land and that land; you have witnessed his loving kindness,—you have seen what has occurred in the deep—the mighty power of God. He will not forsake those who put their trust in Him. Friend, when you go to visit this land and that land, we will pray to God, that He may safely conduct you to the land whither you wish to go, and that He may carry you safely to your own land. Friend, now go; we have met,—you have seen our face in Rarotonga, and we have seen your face. Observe, one thing yet remains. When we shall be assembled with the word of God, of the blessed—in that world of joy, the good people of Britain will know those of

Rarotonga, and the good people of Rarotonga will know those of Britain; and then will be known the true state of that land, and this land. This is a little speech of compassion toward you: may you be preserved in your voyaging. And now, may the grace of God be granted to us—even so—Amen.

From Tekori: that is all I have to say.[1]

Through all this service, with its hardships and sacrifices, its immense risks and dangers, the consecrated man touched the deepest chords of human sympathy, shared the native life, put himself into fellowship with all who flocked around him, and gave both natives and missionaries simple and yet powerful interpretations of the gospel of Christ. There was a freshness and reality to all he said. It reached the condition of all types and all levels of his varied listeners, and the testimonials of natives and missionaries make one feel that this Quaker apostle, speaking in strict obedience to what his soul *heard*, brought a new revelation of the Light and Truth of God to all the islands which he visited during the four eventful years of his journeys. Whittier has successfully gathered up in his memorial poem, on the death of Daniel Wheeler, the beautiful features of this pilgrim journey through strange seas and among tropic islands. I give two stanzas from this affectionate tribute of the poet:

Oh, far away,
Where never shines our Northern star
On that dark waste which Balboa saw
From Darien's mountains stretching far,
So strange, heaven-broad, and lone, that there,
With forehead to its damp wind bare,
He bent his mailëd knee in awe;
In many an isle whose coral feet
The surges of that ocean beat,
In thy palm shadows, Oahu,
And Honolulu's silver bay,
Amidst Owyhee's hills of blue
And taro-plains of Tooboonai,
Are gentle hearts, which long shall be
Sad as our own at thought of thee,

[1] *Memoirs*, p. 558.

Worn sowers of Truth's holy seed,
Whose souls in weariness and need
  Were strengthened and refreshed by thine.
For blessëd by our Father's hand
  Was thy deep love and tender care,
  Thy ministry and fervent prayer,—
Grateful as Eshcol's clustered vine
To Israel in a weary land!

  And they who drew
By thousands round thee, in the hour
  Of prayerful waiting, hushed and deep,
  That He who bade the islands keep
Silence before Him, might renew
  Their strength with His unslumbering power,
They too shall mourn that thou art gone,
  That nevermore thy aged lip
Shall soothe the weak, the erring warn,
Of those who first, rejoicing, heard
Through thee the Gospel's glorious word,—
  Seals of thy true apostleship.
And, if the brightest diadem,
  Whose gems of glory purely burn
  Around the ransomed ones in bliss,
Be evermore reserved for them
  Who here, through toil and sorrow, turn
  Many to righteousness,
May we not think of thee as wearing
That star-like crown of light, and bearing,
Amidst Heaven's white and blissful band,
Th' unfading palm-branch in thy hand;
And joining with a seraph's tongue
In that new song the elders sung,
Ascribing to its blessed Giver
Thanksgiving, love, and praise forever!

In 1839 this great traveller and bearer of good tidings to men came to America and delivered his message with much effect throughout all the Quaker sections of the country except the Carolinas, and, after a flying visit to England, returned to America, hoping for further extensive service. On the steamer, however, he contracted pneumonia and landed in New York with the answer of death upon him. He lingered many days, had a beautiful farewell visit from Stephen Grellet, and passed in great peace to the life beyond, having

accomplished even more among the members of his own Society, by the contagious spirit of his life, than he did by his direct efforts in the far-away islands of the sea.

Another great influence which prepared for the bursting forth of fresh life in the 'sixties was the steadily growing study of the Bible. Friends had always made much of Scripture reading. It was a custom in most Quaker families to read a chapter collectively every day, and both the preaching, whenever we can recover any of it, and the diaries of Ministers show an intimate acquaintance with the Bible. But in spite of this emphasis, Friends were quite strongly opposed to the *study* of the Bible. The prevailing theory, in conservative circles, was that this revelation of truth was too sacred to be openly discussed and argued about. It was to be read with reverence and awe, somewhat as one feels on entering a holy place where God is to be met, but it was not to be "worked over" by the intellect. They conceived that the differences in Christendom had mainly come from attempts to construct "notions" from Biblical texts and from the unwarranted intellectual interpretation of what was meant to be apprehended by *spiritual experience* alone. It was used therefore as a kind of sacrament to produce solemnity and individual searchings of soul rather than as a theme for discursive debate. The Bible was never read publicly in Friends' meetings before 1860, and among the conservative groups the systematic *study* of it was looked upon as apostasy to the true Quaker principle.

There were, however, movements under way, after the opening of the nineteenth century, which were certain sooner or later to break down this tradition. Robert Raikes, in launching his experiment of Bible Classes in 1780, had inaugurated an irresistible movement which, like the tides of the sea, was to sweep into every Christian communion that was in open contact with the life of God. The British and Foreign Bible Society had been established in 1804 with many Friends among its most enthusiastic members. The Philadelphia Society began in 1808, again

with Friends among its founders. Other States followed rapidly in the formation of societies, and in 1816 the American Bible Society was founded, once more with prominent Friends among the organizers.

There were a few sporadic cases of Bible Classes which were organized by Friends before the separation of 1827, but these cases are rare and hard to trace. One such class for Bible study was formed in North Carolina by a group of young Quaker Coffins at New Garden. The class was organized in a brick school-house before 1820, and it grew to be "large and interesting." Elijah Coffin was one of the teachers of it. The older Friends did not encourage this venture, and some of them opposed it.[1] In 1825 Levi Coffin organized a large school for Bible study at Deep River, North Carolina, in the meeting-house itself,[2] but such "advanced" leaders were few in those early days, and fewer still were the meetings which were ready for such innovations.

The separation of 1828 sent Friends to their Bibles with awakened zeal, though even still there was widespread fear of *study*. The Gurneys were in this matter foremost among the innovators. Joseph John Gurney early made himself one of the leading authorities in Biblical interpretation, and in the circles where his influence prevailed individual Bible study became a necessary part of the religious life. In America Bible Classes held in meeting-houses were first started by a remarkable English visitor, Hannah Chapman Backhouse. She also was a Gurney. She was a daughter of Joseph and Jane Gurney of Norwich, being born in 1787. Like her cousins, Joseph John Gurney and Elizabeth Fry, she was a beautiful person, charming, graceful, polished, educated and highly gifted. She turned, about the same time as her cousins, toward the religious life and found a new joy in the intense evangelical faith which formed the very atmosphere of the Gurney circle.

In 1830 she saw a prospect of extended service in

[1] See *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin* (London and Cincinnati, Ohio, 1876), p. 71.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 105.

America opening before her, with the inevitable separation from her family, home and friends—"a deep baptism" it seemed. Her mother heard her tell of this call and solemnly said: "Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him!" An "awful sense" of what God was laying upon this beautiful woman spread over her meeting, and her Friends joined in the judgment with her that she must sever the tenderest bonds and go forth. For five years her American labours lasted. She visited every part of the Quaker heritage, lived with pioneers in new settlements, endured the hardships of wagon travel, was exposed to danger and death many times, and did a spiritual work which never can be told.

She was one of the most positive of all the evangelical influences that swept over the American societies, and it was she, as I have said, who started Bible Classes in the meetings. She studied her Bible as she travelled with Eliza P. Kirkbride[1] from place to place, rejoicing in it as a "mine" of spiritual wealth. She welcomed every chance to hold "Bible meetings," and while visiting the meetings in Indiana in 1832 she conceived the idea of having weekly gatherings to read the Scriptures and to learn portions by heart. Each Sunday afternoon they were to recite what they had learned during the week, and be questioned on the chapters which they had read. A real enthusiasm for Bible study was kindled. Twenty years later a Friend who visited Indiana gives the following account of her pioneer work:

> Few can estimate the value of H. C. Backhouse's labours in America, and the permanent results which have followed, and are still developing. In no portion of the Society are they perhaps more conspicuous than in Indiana, where more than one-third of the whole body of Friends in America are now reaping, through the divine blessing, as we may humbly trust, the fruit of those exercises into which she was led on behalf of the rising generation, in the present and continuous enjoyment of an amount of scriptural instruction exceeded in none of the Yearly Meetings of that land.[2]

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[1] Afterwards married Joseph John Gurney.

[2] *Journal of H. C. Backhouse* (London, 1858), p. 133, footnote.

This work, begun in Indiana, was continued in all parts of America where Hannah C. Backhouse travelled.[1] Her work was very fruitful in New England, where the progressive leaven was making headway. She assembled children and parents in the meeting-houses, gave an impressive address on the importance of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the Scriptures, and, where way opened for it, started a school for simple Bible study. While staying in New Bedford, Massachusetts, she wrote out a plan for Bible Schools, with directions for teachers and questions for learners to use. This little compilation was printed in Philadelphia in 1834, under the title *Scripture Questions for the Use of Schools.* Thus this new thread of light began to be woven into the structure of Quaker life and thought and character. It was thin and simple enough at first, but it contained remarkable expansive power which would gradually be revealed. Tiny and weak as this movement, in its beginning, looks to us, it was nevertheless strenuously opposed as "an entering wedge," and was regarded by the conservative Friends as the herald of augmenting trouble to "Israel"!

Joseph John Gurney's visit to America (1837–1840), which brought everywhere direct and positive aid and comfort to the growing evangelical tendencies, also greatly revived and fortified this incipient Bible study among Friends. He wrote from New York words which indicate the evangelical fervour of his spirit, and at the same time his estimate of the place the Bible should hold in a Christian's life:

> Meditate on the infinite loving-kindness of that Saviour who came down from the glory of his Majesty, to live and die for sinners—who bore your sins in his own body on the tree; lose not an hour in devoting yourselves, body and soul, to his service. . . . *Never pass a day without reading a portion of Scripture in private;* meditate on these things; give yourselves wholly to them.[2]

But he did not stop with a recommendation to read

[1] A Friends' First-day School was begun in New York City in 1833.
[2] *Memoirs*, p. 348.

the Scriptures *in private*; he went on the next step and planned for careful systematic instruction in the Bible, and especially in the American schools, where he instituted the plan for Scripture study which he had sometime earlier inaugurated at Ackworth school.[1]

From the time of Gurney's epoch-making visit in America interest in Bible Schools and in foreign mission work slowly but steadily increased. *Friends' Review*, published in Philadelphia, was begun in 1847, edited by Enoch Lewis, and designed to propagate liberal and progressive Quakerism of the Gurney type. Sympathy with Bible Schools and with foreign mission work appears even in its early volumes, continually growing more positive and definite with the years. In the decade from 1850 to 1860 reports in *Friends' Review* indicate that "First-day Schools" have become a great spiritual force. In 1857 one hundred and thirty-eight meetings in Indiana Yearly Meeting are reported as having such schools, and only twenty-three are without them. The next year only six meetings were without Bible Schools. During the same decade Friends went west in great numbers, settling on the rich prairie lands of Iowa, and swelling the anti-slavery forces in Kansas. In both these new regions Bible Schools played a large part in the spiritualizing work of the pioneer settlers.[2] This situation prevailed in all the meetings that were not under Wilburite, or strongly conservative, influences, and with the eager interest in the Bible came the slow dawning of a transformed Quakerism.

Two more itinerant visits from England greatly advanced the growing evangelical spirit and further prepared the way for the "revival" in the 'sixties—the visits of Benjamin Seebohm and Robert Lindsey. Benjamin Seebohm was born near Pyrmont in Germany in 1798, the son of Ludwig Seebohm, who was the leader of the "mystical group" discovered in 1790 by Sarah Grubb.

[1] In 1848 the young Friends of York Meeting (England), led by Joseph Rowntree, organized a First-day Bible School. This had been preceded by the Loan Tract Association which performed a similar function.

[2] In 1858 there were 1192 Friends' families in Iowa, probably nearly 6000 members. See *Friends' Review*, vol. xi. p. 392.

He came to England in 1814, through the influence of Stephen Grellet, settled in Yorkshire, revealed a fresh, living gift in the ministry, married Esther Wheeler of Hitchin, and became one of the foremost evangelical forces in the Society of his period. From 1846 to 1851 he travelled and preached and visited families throughout the American meetings. He was, like so many other Quaker Ministers, of the strongly "prophetic" type. He saw into existing conditions, he felt out states of life and character, and he revealed a great many persons to themselves, and helped young persons to come forward in the ministry. He was unreservedly evangelical. His sermons dwelt continually on the atonement and on all the essential aspects of the evangelical way of salvation. He was an impressive figure, well read in the evangelical literature of the time, interested in nature, a good conversationalist, regarded as a divinely inspired messenger, and his visit, which reached even the most remote fringes of Quakerism, left an ineffaceable stamp upon individuals and meetings.[1]

Robert Lindsey, also of Yorkshire, was an important agent for the extension of Quakerism. In 1852 he was liberated by his meeting for very extensive labours in Tasmania, New Zealand and Australia, and spent four years in this service. In 1857, accompanied by his wife, Sarah Lindsey (born Crosland), who also accompanied him on the former visit, he carried through in America the most extensive itinerant service that had, up to that time, ever been undertaken by any Friend. These two Friends visited the old-established meetings, all the new Quaker settlements in Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota and Kansas, as well as the scattered Friends and meetings in Canada and Nova Scotia, and then set out for California, in 1859, by way of the Isthmus of Panama. They held meetings in the seaport towns of California, and, sailing north, performed a very large work in Oregon, Washington Territory and British Columbia. They sought out scattered Friends in these new settlements. They visited all their homes, gathered them, where possible, into meet-

[1] *Private Memoirs of B. and E. Seebohm*, edited by their sons (London, 1873).

ings, and preached to large popular assemblies along the coast.

Robert Lindsey was thoroughly evangelical in his ministry, a preacher of the gospel, an interpreter of the Bible, a teacher rather than a prophet, a Friend for whom evangelical theology counted more than did the traditions of the Society or even the principle of the inner Light. He was earnest, wideawake, forward-looking, courageous, brave, full of endurance, at home in pioneer conditions, ready to welcome new ways for new situations, and a man of strong personal influence. He must be regarded as an important factor in the transformation of American Quakerism.[1]

All these Friends who, through faithfulness and much sacrifice of personal comfort, brought their religious influence to bear on the life and development of the Society of Friends in America, were, notwithstanding the strong evangelical note in their preaching, as loyal to the spiritual methods and practices of Friends as though no change had come over their theology. They made very much of silence; they believed in and experienced personal divine guidance; they found their strength renewed in the solemn hush of quiet waiting; they clung with old-time fidelity to the priesthood of all believers; they were opposed, in theory and practice, to any aspect of sacerdotalism; they were as free as the first Friends had been of any tendency towards ritualism; and they insisted, as their ancestors had done, that baptism and communion were spiritual experiences and not outward performances. They were all rooted and grounded in the Quakerism of the past. They loved the "Truth," in the Quaker sense, and served it with their lives. Their religion, like that of their predecessors, was inward and spiritual and tested by experience. But they strongly partook of the atmosphere of their time. They were persons of public spirit, engaged in great reforms, working with other religious leaders, and

[1] Sarah Lindsey's unpublished diaries are preserved in Devonshire House Library, and, in copy, at Haverford College. Some accounts of their work are given in *Travels of R. and S. Lindsey* (London, 1886). Many extracts from the unprinted diaries are given in *The British Friend* for 1887.

they shared in and felt the force of the powerful religious currents that were moving across the world. It was a time of evangelical awakening. Great movements were under way re-expressing the central principles of this faith and hope, and this new awakening had broken into the souls of these earnest Quaker leaders, and had made them intense, dynamic and brave in their mission. They themselves succeeded in fusing together more or less successfully the old and the new, the Quaker "Truth" and the evangelical faith, but they were unconsciously preparing for a movement which would one day bring the Quakerism which they loved its hardest test.

Another influence, perhaps the strongest of all the factors involved, was the wave of revival meetings which, in the middle of the century, reached almost all the communities where there were Friends. The so-called "great revival" which swept over America at the opening of the century did not to any extent touch the Society of Friends, because at this period its members were exclusive and did not attend any religious meetings except their own. In 1850 this exclusiveness existed in some places, in fact everywhere in conservative circles, but in the newer settlements, where life was very free and democratic, the exclusiveness was fast disappearing. The young people of the Society especially mingled with those who were not Friends, and when "a revival meeting" occurred in a town or village in the 'fifties, the young Friends flocked to it with the others, and experienced the same effects as others did.

This second "great revival" of which I am now speaking was more restrained than the one had been a half-century before. There were far fewer physical and psychical phenomena attending the meetings. There was a deeper note, more teaching and less emotion. Charles G. Finney was the typical leader in this evangelical awakening. His revival meetings were well under way before the middle of the century, but the culminating period was the decade between 1850 and 1860, and his personal influence and the success of his labours started a multitude of other evangelists who followed in his steps, Dwight L. Moody

being the most noted and successful. Gradually the wave gathered volume and power, and all parts of America felt it, were stirred by it, and awakened to greater religious intensity as a result of it.

The *Friends' Review* of the time, whose tone seems to the modern reader slow and conservative, reflects the influence of this dynamic movement. A Friend, writing for this periodical in 1858, says:

> A careful examination of the history of the present most remarkable awakening of public attention and feeling to the subject of religion has led me to the undoubted conclusion that it is a genuine work of divine grace, and that *if our Society would open the door for it, we also should be blessed in these times of refreshing.*[1]

He continues:

> In a large city in the West many have come under the influence of divine grace through the means of meetings of the young for the study of the Scriptures. Such small circles, established with sincere desires for a knowledge of the power of truth, would, I believe, exert a most important influence in stirring up our members to more life in all their religious duties, and our meetings would become places of far deeper religious exercise.

Exactly this course was followed. Small circles were formed. Groups of young Friends met to read together, and the fire was kindled in these little circles. Already, in the period before 1860, the leaders of the Quaker revival were being converted in community revival meetings, and were gathering little groups around them, and were starting a "going in the tops of the mulberry trees."[2]

Before dealing definitely with these revival centres, I must treat briefly of the work of Eli and Sybil Jones of New England, who were to have an important part to perform in the new epoch of Quakerism, while Sybil Jones was to be a chosen instrument in inaugurating the awakening itself. Eli Jones was born in China, Maine, in 1807, and his wife, descended from the Dudleys, was born in Brunswick, Maine, in 1808. They both became

[1] *Friends' Review*, vol. xi. p. 532.
[2] 1 Chron. xiv. 15.

dedicated Ministers in early life, and Sybil Jones soon revealed a very remarkable gift. Her voice was possessed of an unusual melodious quality, her presence and personality were striking, her face was radiant, her spirit was absolutely aglow, she had *found* the springs of eternal life, and she spoke as one who *knew*. There was something irresistible about her manner and message. The first great overseas service which was laid upon these two united Friends was a mission to the natives and colonists of Liberia and Sierra Leone. It was on this journey that the foundations were laid for the missionary work of their lives, and they both deepened and expanded as they carried through this first piece of labour for other races than their own. The "call" came to them in 1850, the "concern" being first "opened" to Sybil Jones. It was a time of deep baptisms on account of severe illnesses and deaths in the family, and the frail woman felt at first that she could not go forth on such an immense and momentous mission. She long carried her burden in silence and waited for a sure "sign" that she was *sent*. Her own story of the steps is vivid and convincing:

So deep was my sense of frailty and entire inability to do the work that I could not believe that the Master would select me to go on such an important embassy, a service of such vast moment. The evidence had been very clear, but the feeling of unfitness for the work seemed to hedge up the way entirely, and I thought unless some person would come to me and tell me the Lord required it and would fit me for the work, I would not take a step. I thought I could not receive it but from some one clothed with gospel authority; and in looking over this class I selected dear Benjamin Seebohm, who I knew was somewhere in America. I was very much reduced in health, attributable to painful watchings and partings, for I slept little and had little appetite for food. Our Monthly Meeting day arrived, and, though my health was so frail that I had gotten out to meeting but little for some time, I felt an almost irresistible impression to go. I accordingly went. As I entered the door almost the first person I met was Benjamin Seebohm. I could not have been more surprised at the appearance of any person. In a moment my request rushed into my mind, and thought I, "I am caught now; I have done wrong in asking this sign, and may the Lord

forgive me and in mercy overlook this presumption, and not grant the request unless it is His will, in condescension to my low estate." The meeting gathered under a solemnity. It seemed to me that this weighty service fell upon it, and after a time of very solemn silence dear Benjamin arose and took up an individual case, and so exactly described my feelings and the service that no doubt remained but the Most High had sent him with this message to me. My soul was poured out like water and all my bones shook. I thought all present knew it was I, though not one but my husband had been apprised of it (it having been to me too sacred a thing to speak of). Indeed, I thought I was a spectacle for men and angels, while the thoughts of my heart were revealed before many witnesses and the work of the Lord proclaimed in demonstration of the Spirit and with power. He spoke most cheeringly—explained feelings of poverty as preparatory to this work, that the creature may be laid low in the dust and the blessed Name alone be magnified; said the Lord would abundantly furnish for every good word and work; that he reduced the creature that all dependence on itself might be entirely removed, and our confidence firmly fixed on Himself, who is the eternal foundation of wisdom and knowledge.[1]

The journey was full of wonderful experiences and episodes. The visitors brought much encouragement to the native workers, to the officials of the African Republic and to the coloured people themselves, but one of the most marked effects of the undertaking was the spiritual reaction upon the travellers themselves. As they rose to their task and drew upon the sources of divine help they reached a new level of life and power. They returned with a fresh power and a quickened spirit. They were both greater souls than when they sailed away not knowing what might befall them. Their brave venture had, too, struck the imagination and fired the spirit of the Friends at home. The accounts of their visit in the *Friends' Review* and the addresses which they gave to Friends on their return produced a deep impression and carried the whole Society forward, at least in missionary interest and zeal. A period of two years' itinerant ministry in Great Britain, Ireland, Norway, Germany,

[1] R. M. Jones, *Eli and Sybil Jones* (Phila., 1889), pp. 72-74.

Switzerland and France followed, and after many steps of spiritual preparation at home and abroad they were ready to be real leaders in the approaching crisis.

Sybil Jones' visit to Indiana in 1860 and her ministry there mark as clearly as any single incident or event the beginning of the revival in the Society. Her ministry at this time was powerful and moving. Like all such pentecostal movements the exact steps cannot be chronicled. The Spirit blows in ways that elude our researches and baffle all attempts to write the story. Many meetings have put up the claim to be the starting-place of this new stage, and many persons are pointed out as the real beginners of it. It was so truly a group movement, a contagious affair, that no one person can be picked out and named as the originator and author of it. The hour was long prepared for, the time was ripe, and suddenly the fire was kindled, no matter who struck off the first spark. During Indiana Yearly Meeting for 1860, held in Richmond, a group of Friends, many of them young people, including John Henry Douglas and Murray Shipley, met at the home of Charles F. and Rhoda M. Coffin, and, after a season of earnest prayer together, decided to send a written request to the Yearly Meeting for the privilege of holding an evening meeting for worship for the younger Friends. The proposal met with much opposition, but was finally granted. It was understood that those who usually did the preaching were not to be heard on this occasion, but that the spiritual "babes and sucklings" should have a chance to break forth. More than a thousand persons attended the meeting, which lasted until after midnight, and hundreds spoke or prayed, many for the first time. The *Friends' Review* says, editorially, that this evening meeting was "a season of remarkable awakening and divine favour."[1] After the Yearly Meeting closed Sybil Jones had a concern to meet with all the Friends, young and old, who had taken part in the great evening meeting. One

[1] Vol. xiv. p. 104. A good account of this meeting is given in *Reminiscences of Rhoda M. Coffin* (New York, 1910), pp. 80-83.

hundred and fifty persons came to this after-meeting, which was held in Charles F. Coffin's house. It was an extraordinary occasion and, as I have said, marked the turning of the epoch. From it sprang a regular evening prayer-meeting which proved to be a nursery for the growth and nurture of the revival spirit. While the same positive steps were lacking at Ohio Yearly Meeting in 1860, the same visiting Friends were present and a high tide of life swept over the large body. A correspondent writing of it to the *Friends' Review* says:

> We never before had such evidences of the prevalence of real vital religion amongst us. It has been spoken of as a genuine revival. Great harmony has prevailed; indeed, the character of the meeting throughout has been such, that thanks have ascended that we have lived to see this day.[1]

There now appeared a number of young leaders in various parts of the country, with distinct evangelistic gifts, with slight appreciation for the past history of the Society, but with great zeal for a new future and with a determination to adopt any methods that might be necessary to make Quakerism *move forward* once more. These young men and women had been brought up in a more or less quietistic atmosphere; they had been converted in many cases in union "revival meetings"; they found themselves uncomfortable under the restraints of their formal meetings and hampered by the dead hand of a long past. They were all alike virile, strenuous, eager, full of energy and sure to go far, if once they succeeded in breaking through the dam of inhibitions which had slowly formed during years of conservative thought and habits. They had been slowly, unconsciously, preparing for their transition work in different sections of the country and in many instances in ignorance of each other, and yet they were strangely alike in gifts and spirit, in theological outlook and in type of preaching.

The most dynamic of these young leaders was John Henry Douglas. He was born in the town of Fairfield,

[1] Vol. xiv. p. 105.

Maine, in 1832. He came of excellent New England Quaker stock on both sides. He grew up in a religious atmosphere, and in the early years of adolescence he had periods of deep *conviction*, sometimes he felt so moved that his trembling shook the seat on which he was sitting. He studied the Bible and Friends' views at this time in a little Bible class. However, he did not yield to the knocking of the Spirit, but drifted away into a life of questioning and unbelief. In a storm at sea, when he was eighteen, under a great fear that he was to be launched from time into eternity, he cried out for help and promised to live a Christian life. By interesting steps he was led on and found his gift in the ministry opening. There was from the first an unusual fire and drive of enthusiasm in his preaching. In 1853, when he was twenty-one, he moved to Ohio, was married, became a country school teacher and farmer, and went out through the neighbourhood, far and near, preaching and visiting families, and by 1860 he was ready to throw himself heart and soul into a movement to revive and transform the Society. His brother, Robert Walter Douglas, a little younger than himself, was almost equally gifted, and was through similar steps being prepared to take the same path and to be one of the new men for the new time.

Allen Jay was one of the wisest and steadiest of all these young leaders. He was born in Miami County, Ohio, in 1831, of a fine old stock of Friends who had migrated from Bush River, South Carolina. He had a serious impediment in his speech, but he possessed remarkable native traits of mind and character. He was converted in a Quaker meeting under the impressive ministry of a visiting Friend who had a message for him in particular. He was greatly helped by the ministry and counsel of itinerant Ministers and by the faithful spiritual life of many local Friends, especially that of his father and mother. He moved to Indiana in 1850, was married, taught school, worked on his farm, and joined in the quiet moral and religious work of the community.

As leader of a First-day school, or Bible class, in his own meeting on the Wabash River, he helped to form a little spiritual group which during the years 1859 and 1860 was thoroughly awakened and revived. This was the period of the beginning of Allen Jay's very remarkable ministry.[1]

The most radical and revolutionary of all the young leaders was David B. Updegraff. He was born at Mount Pleasant, Ohio, in 1830. His mother was a gifted Minister of a progressive spirit. His family was intimate with Charles G. Finney, the great revivalist, and the revival spirit was welcomed in his boyhood home. He was converted in a Methodist revival meeting at Mount Pleasant when he was thirty years old. It was a time of earthquake shaking and he experienced a great upheaval. Two stages seemed marked out in his new experience, and they became henceforth in his mind essential stages of the changed life—justification and sanctification. More or less closely joined with David B. Updegraff in thought and work was Dougan Clark, his fellow-student at Haverford College. The latter was by bent and temperament a theologian rather than an evangelist, and he worked out the theological formulations of the new movement. Luke Woodard, Esther Gordon Frame, and her brother Luther Gordon, Elizabeth L. Comstock, Caroline Talbot, Elwood Siler, Daniel Hill, William Wetherald, William P. Pinkham, John Y. Hoover[2] and Murray Shipley were some of the other prominent leaders of this band that worked a transformation of Quakerism in the twenty years from 1860 to 1880. Awakenings of one type or another in the early part of those two decades broke out nearly simultaneously in scattered meetings. Wherever there was a prepared leader who gathered a Bible class about him, as Allen Jay did, or who succeeded, as a number of young Friends did, in forming a reading circle for prayer and study, there came a sudden increase

[1] See *Autobiography of Allen Jay* (Philadelphia, 1908).

[2] John Y. Hoover of West Branch, Iowa, was an uncle of Herbert Hoover, who has since become justly famous as chief food purveyor to the world during the Great War.

of interest and of life and enthusiasm. Two regions in the 'sixties were especially stirred and shaken, Walnut Ridge, Indiana, and Bangor, Iowa.

The "Revival" at Walnut Ridge was the most sensational of all the early awakenings, and it deserves a few words of comment. It began, as happened in many places, with the holding of a series of "tract-reading meetings." In these informal circles many learned to speak or pray who had never done so in the more formal meetings for worship. In the autumn of 1867 such a little group, only nine in all, met at Walnut Ridge and prayed together for a community awakening. They appointed a meeting to be held the next Sunday evening. This led to more. In these simple informal meetings individuals soon came under conviction for sin, and the custom was adopted to save special seats in front for penitents, or "mourners," to come forward for the prayers of the leaders. The meetings spontaneously grew in size and power. A large number of "seekers" appeared. People drove in from the surrounding country. "Elders" and "Overseers" began attending, and long-established Friends became "converted." The well-known emotional phenomena that have always appeared in intensive revivals broke out here. Some were frightened as they saw the unusual happenings and realized what was transpiring. They retreated and criticized the movement, but it was irresistible and swept on, breaking out in near-by centres and spreading by a psychological contagion.[1] This Walnut Ridge revival, the first to occur in a Quaker meeting, was soon to be repeated, with varying circumstances and methods, in a large number of Quaker communities. Almost at once, meetings in these centres of awakening began to undergo changes. Many young persons now took part in them. Silence gave way to public testimony and prayer. The Scriptures took on a new importance and were eagerly read and interpreted. The old sense of awe and restraint gave place to an era

[1] For a good account of this "Revival" see *The American Friend* (old series), vol. ii., January 1868, published at Richmond, Indiana.

of freedom and spontaneity, and still greater changes were behind. Many, quite naturally, opposed all that was happening. The old ways were praised and commended and the dangers of innovation were proclaimed, but nothing stemmed the current—the old order changed and the new came on apace.

At this stage, a new type of meeting was originated, somewhat in imitation of the large general meetings held during the first generation of the Quaker movement. They were once more called "General Meetings." They were for teaching, for discussion of central truths and practices, and for outreaching evangelistic work. The new plan originated in Indiana in 1867, and the work was carried on under a Joint Committee of the Yearly Meeting and the Quarterly Meetings. One of the first of these modern "threshing" General Meetings was held in Chicago, Illinois, in December 1867, and many of the new leaders took part in it. Rapidly these "threshing meetings" spread from one Yearly Meeting to another, until all the sections of Quakerism which were in sympathy with Gurney were awakened and revived.

The revival movement reached Kansas in full force at about the same time as the Yearly Meeting was established, in 1872. A large number of those who were the leaders of the new type of ministry attended the opening of the Yearly Meeting and produced a marked effect. About the year 1874, Mary H. Rogers, a Minister in Cottonwood Quarterly Meeting, declared one day in her home meeting that she felt the need of a profounder change in her life, a new anointing with greater power. She thereupon called upon those in the meeting who felt a corresponding need to join her in making a new start, asking them to come forward to the gallery and kneel in prayer for a fresh blessing. Many heads of families in the meeting responded to the call, praying for themselves and for their children. "General Meetings" were appointed in many parts of the great Kansas field, with large numbers of converts as the immediate result. Andrew Evans, Elkanah Mardock, Albert A. Bailey, Rachel C.

Woodward and Jesse W. Wilmore were, with Mary H. Rogers, among the leaders of the movement. As its significance became revealed the more conservative element opposed the changes and methods that were being initiated, while the progressive forces pushed still further in the direction of change. In 1877 no less than thirty-five of the leaders of the revival from other Yearly Meetings were in attendance at the Kansas Yearly Meeting, and they were in practical control of the exercises. After Yearly Meeting they spread out over the Kansas field, visiting the local meetings and propagating everywhere the new methods. This strained situation led to a small separation, mainly in Cottonwood Quarterly Meeting, in 1879. A similar separation had already occurred on similar grounds in Western Yearly Meeting and in Iowa Yearly Meeting in 1877.[1] A small separation, dividing conservatives and progressives, took place in Canada Yearly Meeting in 1884, and a tiny one of similar character occurred in North Carolina in 1903.

In spite of these frictions and weakening divisions, there seemed to be on the whole a great release of energy due to the awakening. A determined effort was aroused to make conquest of unoccupied fields, and committees on "Church extension" became very active. It was largely under the inspiration and enthusiasm of this awakening that a new westward movement of Quakerism was inaugurated. The beginnings of Quaker migration to the Pacific coast antedate the period of revival, but the later migration was actuated by a missionary spirit and came after the awakening had produced a new momentum.

Robert and Sarah Lindsey, whose religious visit to the little meetings in Kansas has been reviewed in an earlier chapter, were the first Friends in the ministry to traverse the long coast-line of the Pacific. They visited most of the new settlements in California, Oregon, and as far north as Victoria in 1859 and 1860, where they found a few scattered Friends who were just beginning to enter

[1] Both of these separations of 1877 are described in *The Autobiography of Allen Jay.*

this region, then considered an *ultima Thule*.[1] During the decade from 1860 to 1870, Mary B. Pinkham, John Scott, William Hobson, Sarah Morrison and Abel Bond, who was noted for his extensive travels on foot in behalf of the gospel, visited and laboured in the California field. Jeremiah A. Grinnell was one of the most influential pioneer workers and one of the spiritual builders of the California meetings. The first meeting, after the manner of Friends, officially established on the Pacific slope was at San José in California, it being a Monthly Meeting set up by Honey Creek Quarterly Meeting of Iowa in 1873. From this time onward for the rest of the century the growth of the Society in California was continuous, the two most important centres being at Pasadena and Whittier in southern California. California Yearly Meeting was established by Iowa in 1895 with twelve hundred and two members, and with two Quarterly Meetings, Pasadena and Whittier.

William Hobson, born in North Carolina in 1820, who became a member of Honey Creek Meeting in Iowa in 1851, was one of the pioneer leaders of Quaker settlements in Oregon. Mary B. Pinkham, Abel Bond, David C. and Rebecca Lewis, John S. Bond, Nathan and Elizabeth White and Rebecca Clawson were early messengers of the Quaker faith in this new north-western field.[2] From 1870 to 1880 there was a large migration of Friends to Oregon, and many persons who had already settled in Oregon were "convinced" by the Quaker message and joined the Society. Large meetings formed at Salem and Newberg, and smaller groups were gathered in many other localities. Chehalem Monthly Meeting (later changed to Newberg) was established by Honey Creek Quarterly Meeting, Iowa, in 1878, and by 1893 there were thought to be enough Friends in Oregon to have a Yearly Meeting of their own. This was estab-

[1] Large extracts of the Lindsey diary covering the visit to the Pacific Coast were edited by Dr. Rayner W. Kelsey and printed in *The American Friend*, vol. xviii. p. 136 *seq.*

[2] For details see a series of articles by Dr. Rayner W. Kelsey in *The American Friend*, vol. xviii.

lished by Iowa Yearly Meeting that year with a membership of thirteen hundred and sixty-three and with two Quarterly Meetings, Newberg and Salem.

The first effects of this awakening throughout the western meetings were undoubtedly good. The crystallization of meetings had slowly reduced them to a state of weakness. They had slowed down and were depending mainly upon the push and momentum of the past. Routine, habit, custom were everywhere the forces in operation. Very few persons were being convinced and won from the outside world by the power of the living message. The Society was being replenished alone by the normal addition of birthright members. For the moment the birth-rate surpassed the death-rate, but, on account of the loss through disownments, the total membership remained nearly stationary. Neighbourhoods around the meetings of the Society were almost untouched by the influence of its message. Its light did not shine; its voice did not carry; it was existing largely for itself and was inadequate even for its own membership. There was no promise of a great future—the most the faithful could hope for was a long-postponed death. Suddenly everything was changed. Enthusiasm was kindled, hope was born, expectation returned, a real future appeared. The old crust of habit was broken through by the bursting force of a new life.

Meetings discovered their mission and grew concerned for their communities. They forgot to tithe mint and anise and considered live tasks. They began to speak again to meet present human need. The meeting-houses, once heavy with uncirculating atmosphere and inviting to slumber, were aired out, brightened up, and made attractive for visitors. They became new centres of religious activity. Series of meetings were held in them. Everybody was invited. Multitudes came, and all the people heard the gospel each in his own tongue. Spiritual children were born and new members began to knock at the doors of meetings which had seemed doomed to death. The preaching of these young men and women,

who were the leaders of the revival, was interesting as well as convicting. They broke away from the old type. They were unconventional and human. They told anecdotes. They made use of novel illustrations. They held the attention of the children and they gave their hearers a sense of warmth and vitality. Wherever this movement came, whether locally initiated or aroused by the holding of a "General Meeting," it was attended by expansion and growth. New members were received, fresh interest was awakened, the meeting got new power and widened scope. In fact it seemed throughout America that Quakerism was being revivified, restored to its primitive vigour and set forward on a new line of march, with a great future assured.

It was when this movement of awakening was in its incipient stage and when the leaders were discovering their call to novel service that Eli and Sybil Jones, older and more deeply rooted in the past than the new leaders, inaugurated a missionary undertaking which at once struck the imagination of Friends and turned the thought of the awakened Society strongly towards the work of the kingdom of God in foreign lands. They sailed from Boston in the autumn of 1867 for religious service in Great Britain, which soon widened out to continental service and extended to Greece and Syria. They started a small missionary work at Ramallah, a town north of Jerusalem, which has since grown to large importance. Eli and Sybil Jones during their work in Syria met Theophilus Waldmeier, who was powerfully moved by their message and later became a Friend. He decided to start a school and mission station in the Lebanon region at Brummana, and Eli Jones aroused New England Friends to assist in supporting this Syrian venture, a dawning interest which woke New England Friends from absorption in their own Society affairs and carried them with sustained zeal and enthusiasm into outreaching and constructive work in the lands where the gospel was first proclaimed.[1]

[1] By a later division of labour the work at Brummana was taken over by London Y.M., and the Ramallah work was taken up by New England Y.M.

This dawning zeal for the spiritual liberation and enlargement of human life in regions of lesser privilege and opportunity spread rapidly, and soon each Yearly Meeting in America of the progressive type had its foreign field of work, which produced a profound reverberation through the home membership and thus worked a double result, blessing those who were giving as well as those who were recipients.

One of the most effective influences brought to bear upon American Quakerism in the critical decade between 1870 and 1880 was the inspiring ministry of Stanley Pumphrey of England. This Friend was born in Worcester in 1837. He possessed a refined nature, which was quickened and deepened by his early education, and even in his youth he showed a strong religious bent. His gift in the ministry became apparent while he was still a young man and he was publicly recorded a Minister of the gospel in 1863. He was strongly evangelical in his thought, devout in spirit, fervent in nature, marked by grace of manner, broad in sympathy, and an impressive speaker. His call to extended service in America was laid upon him in the spring of 1875, and he was forthwith liberated by his meetings for this field of work.[1]

His travels in America took him into every part of the country where there were Friends, and he made an especial point of visiting pioneer groups of Friends in the western States and Territories. He was equally at home visiting Longfellow and Whittier and the eastern centres of education, or in the sod houses and primitive meeting-places on the borders of civilization. The following passage from his diary is a typical one:

[1] Deborah H. Thomas of Baltimore attended London Y.M. in 1875 and asked to be allowed to go into the men's meeting to give a message that was upon her heart. She had not heard of Stanley Pumphrey's "concern." In the course of her message she said: "Is it not laid upon some of you young men to go to America? Does not the great ocean roll between you and your field of offering? Do not be long about it, for I believe the Lord will give time to do it in, *and not much more.*" My late friend Thomas Pumphrey was sitting at the time on the same seat with Stanley Pumphrey, and he has told me that the seat shook so that all who were sitting on it knew that one of their number was the designated man. Stanley Pumphrey's life lasted only just long enough to complete his service in America.

I have learned to love Kansas Friends while working among them, and I see how many are their disadvantages, but most pioneer settlements have passed through similar troubles. The great need is an efficient ministry: men who know the truth and are competent to declare it. I have had no such leave-taking anywhere as I had at the close of the meetings at Lawrence. It was touching and humbling to have so many crowding round to say farewell. Many were in tears, and strong men with their eyes brimming and their hearts too full to speak. It almost broke me down, and I found it difficult to utter the parting words for each. How little I have done to deserve the love they gave me. If our poor love meets with such recompense, how ought we to be found answering the mighty love of Christ.[1]

He was profoundly interested in the Indians on their reservations, and the Indians were no less interested in him. His direct, simple message, given with evident human sympathy and understanding, greatly reached the hearts of the red men as it did also everywhere the coloured people of the South. The genuine character of the man and the reality of his preaching are well revealed by the fact that he held the attention and deepened the lives of his hearers alike in Philadelphia, Baltimore and New England, and in the centres where the revival movement had already produced the greatest effect. His work tended always to awaken a more positive religious experience and at the same time to give a steadying tone and balance to those who came under his influence. He was the first to propose a central Missionary Board for all the American Yearly Meetings—a plan which waited long for fulfilment, but is in the way of being realized. He spent four years of great service in America, and finished his life in less than a year after his return to England. His constructive labours were followed up by a similar extensive visit accomplished by his brother-in-law, Henry Stanley Newman, in the period from 1888 to 1890. The various American visits of J. Bevan Braithwaite in 1865, in 1876, in 1878, in 1884 and in 1887 were also important occasions in the history of American

[1] *Memories of Stanley Pumphrey* (New York, 1883), p. 206.

Quakerism. The last-named Friend was a distinctly leading influence in the direct Gurney succession, an interesting personality, a great student of the Church Fathers, and a Friend whose life was saturated with the fragrance of the New Testament atmosphere in which he lived.

The influences of these visits were all potent in increasing the evangelical note of American Quakerism, but they all at the same time had a stabilizing tendency in American circles, since all these visiting Ministers preserved the characteristic Quaker attitude towards worship and ministry, and they endeavoured to ground their hearers in these fundamental features.

Unfortunately, as we must see later, this reawakening and new circulation of life was not entirely renewing and constructive. It brought difficulty and limitation as well as hope and promise, and the renascence carried in itself forces of arrest, tendencies toward crystallization which soon appeared ominous, and which call for calm consideration at the end of this study of modern Quakerism.

CHAPTER XXIII

AMERICAN QUAKERISM IN THE LATEST PERIOD[1]

THE first effect of the revival and the awakening among American Friends of the Gurney branch in the twenty years from 1860 to 1880 was a great release of energy and a burst of new life. Dead meetings had an unexpected resurrection. Old meeting-houses were modernized and transformed. Meeting-places were changed from remote, lonely country roads to larger centres of population in towns and villages. Sunday schools were opened in every locality where there was a nucleus of Friends. Every section of the Society had its conference, on Bible schools, or on education, or on foreign missions, or more likely on all these topics combined, and wherever large groups met to deal with subjects of this sort there was much preaching of the gospel and opportunity was always given for personal "testimony." Whereas Friends had formerly gone their own way, lived pretty much apart, had an air of exclusiveness and peculiarity, they now became keenly interested in the life of their communities, aimed to draw unchurched people into their meetings, and made an effort to adapt their methods of worship to meet the needs of persons who had not been educated and trained as Friends. In many places attendance doubled, or even trebled, and the area of the influence of the meeting greatly enlarged. It was no unusual thing to receive twenty-five new members at a single session of the Monthly Meeting. Before the new era came Friends seldom spoke of their inner experiences. They had a

[1] This chapter deals only with the orthodox bodies.

sense of awe in reference to what occurred in their souls. They meditated upon God's dealings with them, told of these things in diaries and journals that were never to see the light until after they should be dead, and they quietly ripened in their spiritual life, first the blade, then the ear, and then the full corn in the ear, almost without outside "observation" or comment. The affairs of the soul's relation with God went on in silence and the inner life of the individual was like "the white stone with a new name which no one knoweth but he that receiveth it."

Now all changed. It quickly became the custom to report what was happening. Friends were strongly urged to "testify," to tell of their experience, and to talk of what God was doing for them. Instead of long periods of solemn silence the meeting became "lively." The long agony and travail of spirit which preceded vocal utterance and breaking of silence became a thing of the past. The habit and aptitude of speech were cultivated. It became natural and easy to communicate. Vocal prayer had always been a weighty matter with Friends. One prayed, or "appeared in supplication," as they called it, only when the "moving" was so powerful that it could no longer be resisted. When the worshipper knelt, the entire congregation uncovered, for the men usually wore their hats until prayer was offered, and solemnly rose and stood while the kneeling suppliant voiced the needs of the whole group. It was no light and easy exercise to engage in. One postponed it if he could, "tried the fleece wet and dry," and refrained from breaking the silence, if he thought he could escape "the woe" that belonged to those who disobeyed. Now all this was altered. In the livelier meetings it was no unusual thing to have a dozen short prayers. The custom of congregational rising was quickly annulled. Everything was done that could be done to make it easy for the young and old to pray.

At first the ancient Quaker tradition against singing in meetings for worship held on. It was one of those fixed habits which goes on operating by an effortless automatism

long after everybody has forgotten the rational grounds for the custom. But the new life and fervour gradually burst through the old dams of habit, and Friends began to ask why they did not make use of song as a normal, natural part of worship. A writer in *The American Friend* (old series) for June 1868 insists that the question of the use of song is to be rightly settled, not by consulting Barclay and Gurney, but rather by "determining clearly what the Scriptures inculcate." "Will some one opposed to music in divine service," he asks, "please favour us with his comment upon James v. 13; Colossians iii. 16; and Acts xvi. 25?" In response to the old argument that music and song incite to evil, he says: "Will a child [be led to] commit evil any more readily by improper music than by improper conversation, and would not the sensible plan be to endeavour to regulate both, not cut either entirely off?"[1]

When once this type of discussion was well under way the existing inhibitions soon gave way before it, and congregational singing became a common feature of most meetings where the revival spirit had spread. Musical instruments, which for a time were excluded as "mere machines" and therefore "unspiritual," soon came in, as they were bound to do, with the practice of singing, and in less than two decades the unalterable tradition of two hundred years regarding music was, except in conservative sections, swept clean away. All this took place, of course, in the face of a slender conservative opposition. In some localities there was a small "remnant" of ancient Friends who stood out for "the old landmarks" and for the time-honoured ways; sometimes they even withdrew and separated—in Canada, in Kansas, in Iowa, in North Carolina, for instance; but for the most part the changes went forward with general approval and with a feeling that great gain in life and power was being made.

One of the most notable signs of new life in the American meetings in these years of transition was the wave of interest in foreign missions. Every Yearly

[1] *American Friend* (old series), vol. ii. p. 130.

Meeting, from New England in the east to Iowa and Kansas, the western terminus of American Yearly Meetings at this stage, took up a definite field of foreign work. New England had Syria for its field; New York had Mexico; Philadelphia, through its Foreign Missionary Association, which at first was composed only of women and was entirely dissociated officially from the Yearly Meeting, had Japan, in which Baltimore and Canada joined; Ohio had China and India; Indiana and Western had Mexico; Iowa took Jamaica, and Kansas took Alaska as its field, in which at a later time Oregon and California joined. The zeal of Friends which had turned strongly toward the relief and education of the freed negroes now turned as strongly towards the conversion and education of the less favoured races in distant lands. The appeal for workers called forth a band of devoted volunteers of the early missionary type. Preaching, Bible teaching, personal religious influence, and elementary education in the main constituted the methods of the missionary, and preparatory training for the work was untechnical and casual. The important and determining feature was a consciousness of "call," and the various fields of Quaker effort were for the most part selected as a result of "the sense of call," in the minds of those who offered themselves for the service. The work was managed by a Committee of the Yearly Meeting (in Philadelphia by the Executive Committee of the Friends' Foreign Missionary Association), and each committee worked its own field without much mutual advice or conference. In fact, the early missionaries of American Friends continued many of the casual and capricious features of Friends' itinerant ministry. The organization was fluid and formative, and the work was shaped to a large extent by influential personalities both on the field and in the home groups. Notwithstanding this somewhat inefficient way of working, and the lack of serious training on the part of the missionaries, an important work was done in each field where Friends broke ground, and the reaction on the home meetings was undoubtedly very great. The con-

sciousness of winning souls from the darkness of idolatry to the light of Christ stirred the membership, helped to raise the religious earnestness and intensity, and was an important factor in the general transformation from the old era to the new.

New intensity appeared also in the work of Friends for peace and temperance and social purity. In fact one would easily have prophesied in 1880 that American Quakerism had refound itself, had become vitalized, and was in the way toward a new period of great expansion. Philadelphia alone, of the older and larger Yearly Meetings, seemed entrenched in the old ways, and continued its ancient practices and habits as though unaware that the old era was dying and a new one was being born. In its group, however, were many Friends of middle age, or younger, who had been profoundly affected by the "awakening," and who were eager to see the gradual formation of a more progressive body. Without taking a radical position, these earnest, devoted, evangelical-minded younger Friends, who were mostly graduates of Haverford College, were in general sympathy with the transformation which appeared to be under way elsewhere, though for many years they seemed within the Yearly Meeting itself to have practically no moulding influence at all. They were voices crying in a dense wilderness, but they were, even in their wilderness-crying, more effective than they themselves supposed.

The greatest single tragedy of American Quakerism during the last seventy-five years—and it had its influence too on English Quakerism—was the isolation of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) from the community of Yearly Meetings, maintaining correspondence with London Yearly Meeting. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was the foremost body in America from the point of view of education and wealth. Numerous persons of profound conviction, of constructive leadership, of deep religious experience, of unusual capacity for public service, and of more than ordinary intellectual calibre, belonged to this group. The body itself was strongly entrenched

behind its ancient hedges and defences. It contained a large element that faced towards the past, that was settled in inherited habits of mind, that did almost no thinking, that took the accumulated traditions and practices of their body as sacred and unalterable revelations of God, and that resisted change and progress. The other bodies of Friends, including London Yearly Meeting, were judged to be infected with dangerous views, and engaged in misdirected "creaturely" efforts. This element opposed all innovations, and stood against every movement which might conceivably lead towards fellowship with Friends elsewhere, who were felt to be on a lower level of faith and practice. The loss of correspondence with the wider circle was a slight matter in itself, for correspondence was in large degree formal, but the break in fellowship, in co-operation, and in inter-relationship was a real catastrophe. There could never be, as a result of this break, a real massing of Quaker forces, even in the Orthodox groups. Every forward movement suffered. If it began in Philadelphia the other bodies could share in it only indirectly. If it began in some other Yearly Meeting it was sure to be under the shadow of suspicion when seen from the Arch Street "gallery." All reform efforts, all relief undertakings, all activities for the civilization of Indians and freedmen, all desire to promote peace, temperance, and better municipal and national ideals, all concerns for advancing the Kingdom of God were hampered by the chasm created through the withdrawal of Philadelphia from the family of Yearly Meetings. Most Philadelphia Friends became ignorant of everything that occurred outside their own purview. Quakerism for them was Philadelphia Quakerism. Here alone the pure form was supposed to be maintained. Other "brands" were negligible, other experiments were assumed to be more or less perverse and futile. The narrow, self-satisfied estimate carried its own penalty in itself. It produced weakness and barrenness within, and at the same time the opportunity to influence the other bodies which were undergoing profound transformation was missed. Each section

needed the others. The absence of inter-fellowship was as disastrous on the progressive bodies as it was on the conservative body, which was becoming sterile through isolation.

Notwithstanding the isolation, however, and the slow decrease in membership from decade to decade, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting rendered a great service to the Society of Friends at large during the half-century from 1850 by maintaining a type of Quakerism which, though conservative, had within its life the potentiality of later breadth and expansion. Its members turned their attention strongly towards the development of educational institutions, and the education of their own children. They kept very much alive their interest in Negroes and Indians, and they preserved and cherished in vital ways their sympathy and fellowship with those who were in need of help. Their Meeting for Sufferings came close after that of London in its watchful care of cases and events revealing human need, while it was always ready to promote the ancient concerns and aspirations of the Quaker faith. The seeds of new life which have now so happily unfolded were always there, though slow to reveal their capacity for growth.

As the revival movement, which began west of the Alleghany Mountains, ripened and revealed more clearly its direction, it became evident that the oncoming transformation was not altogether liberating and constructive. The new Quakerism that emerged out of the fusing and melting processes soon began to show characteristics which indicated that the movement was neither developmental nor genuinely progressive. There appeared signs of regression, and reversion to types of method and of thought which were quite out of harmony with the inner spirit of fundamental Quakerism. This became manifest in two marked ways: (1) in methods of organization and practice, and (2) in its religious conceptions and interpretations.

The great numbers of new converts who were brought into the meetings through the revival efforts did not

enjoy, or even feel satisfied with, the existing type of Friends' meeting. They were unused to "silence," and found little profit in the long stretches of it to which Friends had become accustomed. They were not altogether edified by the capricious, rambling, mentally unorganized speaking which was in vogue in many meetings. It did not feed them or instruct them, while in not a few localities the larger freedom which prevailed in meetings for worship gave opportunity for eccentric persons—cranks of many types and varieties—to occupy the time and tax the patience of the faithful membership. The newcomers had less patience than the birthright members had shown. They considered the tedious repetitions and eccentric speaking insufferable, and they soon made their attitude frankly clear. Long habit had rendered seasoned Friends more or less unconscious of the flaws and failings of their age-long system and methods. They did not reflect upon their instinctive processes. They did not stand off and look from the outside at the methods which existed in their traditional forms of worship. Their new members, who often constituted half of the meeting, had no such instinctive habits. *They* reflected; they knew what they wanted, and they soon made their feelings known.

The situation called for the highest statesmanship. The awakening had come and could not be stopped—ought not to be stopped—the new currents of life were strongly running; the transforming forces were irresistible. It was, too, positively certain that the Quaker meeting of 1880 was antiquated, crystallized, and in need of serious adjustment and reformation. Where it was at its best it was a living and impressive way of worship, but where it was dull and mechanized it was a poor affair. It was, however, an extremely important matter that the changes which most Friends saw must come should be along lines of real progress, and that they should be carried through in harmony with the spirit and genius of Quakerism. The typical Friends' meeting for worship, in which each individual shared the responsibility for the spiritual quality

and fruit of the occasion, had cost too much suffering, and had too thoroughly proved its worth, to be lightly cast aside for a completely different substitute. All the corporate wisdom of the Society was needed for the solution of that problem. The old "form," as it stood, would plainly not do for the new conditions of life. What was wanted was a new method, a fresh and vital way, evolved out of the old, and preserving the essential principles of the Quaker faith. There was wisdom enough in the corporate group of American Friends to have solved this difficult problem, but the divided state of the Society and the autonomous character of the several Yearly Meetings made it impossible to mass the intelligence and sound judgment of the bodies whose very life and mission were at stake on the issue. Then, too, there was considerable haste and impatience on the part of the new leaders. They were not inclined to wait for a slow *evolution* to change conditions.

The form, in fact, that was finally adopted was an accidental one. It was taken up more or less capriciously in isolated centres without corporate consideration. It was germane to a different type of Christianity from that of Friends, and could become general only through a profound alteration of the Quaker basis. The central feature of the new method, here under consideration, was the introduction of a pastor into the Friends' meeting as preacher, director of exercises, and visible head of the local meeting. Opposition was immediately raised by conservative members to the payment of a salary to the pastor, since this seemed to involve a violation of the long-standing but little examined "Query" of the Society against "hireling ministry," and to the conservatives it was a serious innovation. This objection was, in the main, a misdirected point of opposition. There was no good reason why one who was giving his life, his powers, and his time to the work of the Society should not have financial provision made for him, so that the work should be physically possible. There was never any real danger that persons who were acting as pastors would lazily take

up the work for the mere loaves and fishes which went with it, and would become "hireling" workers and parasites. The graver danger was the radical reconstruction of the type of meeting bound up with the admission of a pastor, such as other religious bodies employed. Friends had slowly evolved a novel congregational manner of worship, which made the ideal of a "priesthood of believers" in some sense an actuality. Every member in theory shared the responsibility for the life of the meeting. Every unit of the congregation felt dimly or clearly that the power of the meeting depended in some measure on him or on her. Worship was conceived to be an individual activity of soul in relation to God spiritually present in the midst of the worshipping group. What that achievement meant only those fully knew who had experienced its power and had suffered and agonized to win it. With far too little insight and too little reflection of consequence, this corporate responsibility and congregational priesthood were surrendered for the well-known pastoral type of Church, though nobody intended to make "a surrender," and there was no thought of betrayal of trust. What really happened was that the congregational meeting, so beautiful in theory, was far from ideal in fact, and did not satisfy the demand of the times. In the emergency the line of least resistance was taken. A *leap* was made from the Friends' method to a wholly different method.

The first pastors had been successful evangelists, powerful revival preachers. They had reached many hearts with their warm, fresh messages, and both the new converts and the old members of the meeting wanted to have their ministry continued among them, and desired to have their personal influence go on exerting itself in their community. They acted spontaneously, enthusiastically, and, it must be said, quite naturally. The work of the Elders under the old system had come to be very inadequate. They neither effectively restrained the undesirable speakers nor wisely helped to develop new ones. The Overseers, too, as one would expect, were not

very successful in carrying on the complicated work of visiting the families of the meeting, and of looking after the needs of the sick, the afflicted, and the erring. What is every one's business very often is no one's in particular, and once more a beautiful theory had more or less gone astray in practice. It thus seemed a real advance to have a devoted, warm-hearted spiritual leader, who, with the force of a strong personality and with the authority of his position, restrained aimless speaking, filled the meeting-time with profitable talk, mingled freely with the membership, and was really a shepherd to the flock during the week.

The advantages were soon seen and appreciated. The idea made its natural appeal. The experiment appeared successful. One meeting after another took it up and tried it. In the first instances as I have said, the revival leaders were selected as pastors in communities where they had been especially influential and had added many new members to the Church. In a short time a simple machinery was devised for managing the new system. A pastoral committee of the local meeting was appointed to make the necessary arrangements with the pastor, and to consult with him in connection with the pastoral care of the meeting. The Yearly Meetings soon adopted the custom of having an evangelistic committee, with a superintendent of pastoral and evangelistic work, one of whose functions was to assist local pastoral committees to find and select new pastors. The pastoral system made its way, however, in the face of strong opposition in every Yearly Meeting, though the opposition was stronger, at first, in the east than in the west.

The *Friends' Review*, which had been the organ of liberal progressive thought, set itself strongly against the introduction of pastors, and the *Christian Worker* was begun in 1871 to be the advocate of the new ideas and methods. New England Yearly Meeting held out for a long period against the introduction of pastors, and Baltimore was solid against it. North Carolina and Kansas had a large element opposed to it. Phil-

adelphia treated the innovation as a complete surrender of Quakerism. But in spite of persistent criticism and opposition the pastoral idea steadily gained ground. It carried meeting after meeting, and by the year 1900 had become the established method in a large proportion of Orthodox meetings, outside Philadelphia and Baltimore Yearly Meetings. With the prevalence of the new system a profound change of Quakerism was unconsciously effected. Friends' meetings steadily approached in method and type the protestant churches in their neighbourhoods. The distinctive traits and the peculiar features which had always characterized Friends' meetings disappeared, and in some localities were lost even to memory. Multitudes of Friends, and whole meetings, became oblivious of the earlier Quaker ideals and manners, and gloried in the fact that Friends were indistinguishable from other Christians, as though they had no special mission.

Calvin W. Pritchard, in an address at the Chicago World's Conference in 1893, enthusiastically described the changes already accomplished. He said:

> Revivals must have leaders, and evangelists were placed in charge; singing is indispensable to such a work, and meeting-houses soon rang with songs of praise; the feeling of the people must be tested, and they were called to respond by rising or kneeling; the penitent form and inquiry room became a necessity, and they were brought into service; large accessions were made to the church and new churches built up, making a demand for more definite pastoral care, and congregations provided pastors, supporting them in their work. All this was new in the Friends' Church, unless something like it existed among the first Friends. So manifestly indispensable were these new methods that the Yearly Meetings readily adopted them and adjusted their legislation and work to the new conditions; they appointed pastoral and evangelistic committees, placed superintendents over fields, and soon had the whole Church well organized under the new system. A great impulse has been given this reform by the clear and definite preaching of experimental sanctification. Most of the ministers and very many others have consecrated themselves for, definitely sought and blessedly obtained, Christ's baptism with the Holy Ghost, and are labouring under the power of this

baptism. The mode of worship is necessarily modified. Pastors and leaders are at the head of services; singing is a regular exercise; seasons of silence are short.[1]

There was, of course, among the pastors a great variety of types. In the early period all the Friends who undertook this novel work in Quaker centres had grown up and had been nurtured in meetings conducted on the basis of silence. They all understood the ancient methods. They usually arranged for periods of quiet waiting, and they endeavoured to meet the needs and wishes of those who formed the less "advanced" and "progressive" wing of the meeting. They were acquainted, too, with the inherited manner of conducting the business meetings, and they conformed in large degree to the old habitual ways. When, however, the new converts, who had no roots in the past and who did not know the old customs by lifelong training and habit, began to serve meetings as pastors, they tended to conform to the pastoral methods in other churches rather than to adapt their methods to the Society into which they had come. The very name of the body—Society of Friends—seemed to them objectionable, even absurd, for they were ignorant of the historical significance of the name. They looked for a name which fitted their conception of the changed denomination, and they proposed the term "Friends' Church," which was adopted in many meetings, even by a number of Yearly Meetings. The word "Reverend" was used before their names by a good many of the new pastors, and they easily obliterated the distinguishing marks which had caused immense suffering and sacrifice to the conscientious Friends of former generations.

One of the most striking changes introduced was the altered attitude towards the solemnization of marriage. The Society had secured at great cost the privilege of having their members marry themselves without the mediation of any ordained person. They felt that no trace of sacerdotalism should inject itself at this sacred moment when two lives were being united by God in the holiest love and

[1] *Friends' Review*, vol. xlvii. p. 261.

fellowship. Without realizing the seriousness of the step, pastors and other Ministers of the Society began to marry couples after the established manner of the Ministers in other churches, and in most sections where pastors were employed, the old way of marrying was lost and forgotten with many other beautiful and precious historical customs. Without intending to be iconoclastic, and with no spirit of ruthlessness on the part of the innovators, the natural course of development wrought a very great change in the entire fabric of Quakerism. But truth dies hard, and spiritual ideals, once lodged in the souls of men, are very dynamic realities to be reckoned with. The new seemed to conquer, and the old appeared to vanish defeated. We shall, however, see later that there is yet more to say on this point.[1]

A more ominous change than this one of method was the radical change of theological outlook, *i.e.* radical as compared with the fundamental Quaker position. Friends, as we have seen, had for a long period been moving more or less unconsciously toward a positive, pronounced evangelical position, though, until after the revival movement came on, this evangelicalism had been skilfully combined with the doctrine of the inward Light, and had been worked out in distinctive Quaker ways of faith and practice.[2] "Gurneyism" was very different from primitive Quakerism. The point of *emphasis* had decidedly altered, but in this case the new did not actually break with the old. In the fervour and enthusiasm of the revival wave, and under the influence of the large group of new members, a tendency soon appeared to discount and minimize the Quaker aspects of faith and to adopt an "uncontaminate" evangelical theology.

This tendency was apparent in the preaching of most

[1] One of the best contemporary discussions of the pastoral system is that which was carried on by William P. Pinkham in favour of the innovation, appearing in *Christian Worker* (for Jan. 30, 1890, Feb. 6, 13, and 20 of the same year), and by Dr. Richard H. Thomas against it, appearing in *Friends' Review* (for March 13th and 20th, 1890). Richard Thomas's articles were reprinted in a booklet the same year under the title *The Pastoral Movement among Friends.*

[2] I am using "evangelical" in the narrow theological sense. Friends had always been *evangelical* in the true sense, the broad and apostolic sense.

of the revival leaders, more particularly those belonging to Ohio Yearly Meeting. It found its most positive expression in the sermons and the writings of David P. Updegraff, Dr. Dougan Clark, John Henry Douglas, Luke Woodard, and William P. Pinkham. They were all devout men of real religious experience, convincing preachers, magnetic personalities. They felt hampered and restrained in the Quakerism of their early years. It seemed to them dead and ineffective. They had all undergone a great personal revival experience. They were kindled with a glowing faith. They were convinced that they had found something which many, perhaps most, Friends did not possess, and they traced their great religious transformation to a revival of definite faith in the gospel of Jesus Christ. Nominal Friends who were dull and stagnant professed to believe in the inward Light. It could be interpreted to mean almost anything one wished. It had become a traditional doctrine. It worked no miracles. It solved no practical problems. It was claimed alike by Hicksites and Orthodox, by Wilburites and Gurneyites, and yet they all went different ways. These revival Friends, awakened and throbbing with a passion for the salvation of souls, challenged the traditional doctrine and called it outright error and heresy—a perversion of true Christianity.[1] They suspected that confidence in the "inward Light" had become a substitute for faith in "the plan of salvation." It seemed to them an easy refuge, and a way to escape the hard conditions of a new birth. At first they did not positively denounce the doctrine of the inward Light; they presented a doctrine incompatible with it and eliminated it by implication, though, as the evangelical movement progressed, the inward Light was distinctly attacked as being a basis of "Unitarianism" and "Hicksism," and Ohio Yearly Meeting positively repudiated belief in the inward Light as a dangerous error. Here, again, there was a genuine ground for the critical

[1] Dougan Clark in his *Life of David P. Updegraff* says that Updegraff's ministry clearly set forth the fact that "the inner Light," which he calls "natural conscience," is not to be confounded with "the gracious illuminations of the Holy Spirit" (p. 45).

attitude. The term had become formal and ill-defined. It opened the door for confusion of thought, and it was sometimes a phrase which meant hardly more than a vacuum of positive vital religion. It needed to be freshly reinterpreted and restated in terms of living experience. This constructive work was lacking. The old Quaker wells were stopped up with accumulated rubbish, and these new leaders simply left them and went elsewhere for their water.

The main difficulty, however, in their minds with the principle of inward Light was that it did not fit with their basic assumption that "fallen man" is "a total ruin," and possesses in his own nature nothing that in any way assists or co-operates toward his salvation. In this particular way they were Calvinistic and not Quaker. Their sermons and articles and books all dwell with wearisome monotony upon this pivotal point of evangelical theology. They find an amazing array of texts which prove it. The revival meetings had struck this note with insistent force. The new preachers were determined to disturb the easy souls who were counting on their native goodness, or their "birthright," or their hope that some divine principle within them would save them. All these cloaks were stripped off and Friends at ease in Zion were shown their spiritual nakedness. The following passage is typical of the revival preaching and the new Quaker theology:

> Sin, sin everywhere, sin in the heart, on the tongue, in the actions. Sin in the bar-room, the theatre, the ballroom, the gambling den. Sin behind the counter and in front of it. Sin in palace and hovel, city and country. Sin in the state and in the church. Sin in legislator, judge, jury, clerk, and constable. Sin in confessional and cloister, clergyman and layman. Sin in the little child and the man of grey hairs. A race marked with sin. "Not a just man upon the earth that doeth good and sinneth not" (Eccl. vii. 20). "They are all become filthy; there is none that doeth good, no, not one" (Ps. xiv. 3). Jews and Gentiles, all under sin (1 Kings, viii. 46). Thus saith the Lord whose word standeth for ever.[1]

[1] William P. Pinkham's *The Lamb of God, or Scriptural Philosophy of the Atonement*, p. 16.

This tendency to sin is the very form and structure of human nature, according to all their vocal and written accounts of life. They paint an appallingly black picture of man and go back without reservation to the Augustinian and Calvinistic theory of "man." Their foremost theologian, Dr. Dougan Clark, says:

> Every human being comes into the world with innate tendencies to sin. . . . We are born into this world possessed of a physical life and intellectual life; but in order to obtain spiritual life we must be quickened by the Holy Spirit Himself and *born again*.[1]

There is, thus, nothing spiritual in man's human nature. By transmission, the moral ruin, occasioned by Adam's fall, has come upon us all and left us every one utterly devoid of spiritual traits, and, more than that, *loaded* with positive tendencies to sin. It is useless to expect that one who has that fundamental conception of "man" will believe in an "inward Light" which belongs to the native furnishings of man's soul, or that he will find the universe a realm of spiritual forces. These revival theologians made short work of such "native furnishings." There are none! Man is an utterly sinful being and can be saved only by conforming to a revealed "plan of salvation." This plan or scheme is revealed in the Bible and nowhere else. It is forecast in the Old Testament and fully set forth in the New Testament, so that the Bible is "one book" and, as they also insisted, is the infallible "Word of God." It would be tedious to travel over their reinterpretation of extreme evangelical theology. They expounded in the usual evangelical way "the sacrificial, vicarious, substitutionary" doctrine of the atonement as the only possible remedy for sin. Christ, by the shedding of His blood, "purchased" the removal of the legal, judicial barrier to salvation, effected the means of salvation and became the sufficient righteousness for all who in faith accept His atoning work.[2]

[1] *The Offices of the Holy Spirit* (3rd ed.), p. 4.

[2] This view is carefully expounded in Luke Woodard's articles in *The American Friend* (Old Series), vol. ii. pp. 54, 92, 106, 208; in Pinkham's *Lamb of God*, and in David Updegraff's *Life*, and in his volume of sermons, *Old Corn* (Boston, 1892).

So far we are on familiar ground. All evangelical theologians since Augustine have, with individual variation, set forth a similar plan of salvation.[1] Man is ruined, and he is saved by grace, revealed in Christ's death. These Quaker theologians, however, went far beyond the earlier evangelicalism. A group of the leaders now began to insist upon what they called "a fourfold gospel": (1) Justification, (2) Sanctification, (3) Second Coming, and (4) Faith-healing. David Updegraff was the first pronounced exponent of this "complete gospel." In this scheme justification is legal, or forensic. It is the divine act, by which, through the merits of Christ, the sinner is acquitted, forgiven, and absolved from the guilt and penalty of his sin. His old nature is not changed or obliterated. But by an instantaneous act of God in response to human faith the penalty of violated law—accepted and borne by Another—is now remitted and the individual is counted as "just" in the sight of God. Justification is a completed, finished state. One is either justified or not justified, there is no sliding scale, no intermediate "fringe." The dividing line is sharp and definite like that between sheep and goats.

Sanctification is a new, second and highly important stage of experience. When the soul is "justified" a germ or seed of spiritual life is implanted in it. A new birth is thus inaugurated, a conversion of heart occurs, but "the old man" is still undestroyed. The inbred nature of sin remains. The native tendencies toward evil are not annulled. One may easily backslide. Sanctification, however, which is an instantaneous work of grace, expels the inward proneness to sin, cleanses completely the pollution of the soul, gives *power* over temptation and makes the soul triumphant. It is the definite work of the Holy Spirit, and when it is wrought within the soul a *resurrection life* is bestowed—the life of holiness and perfect love becomes a realized fact.[2] As this idea of instantaneous sanctification took hold of Friends' minds,

[1] See Introduction.

[2] These two stages are elaborately expounded in Updegraff's *Life*, esp. pp. 200-203, and in Clark's *Offices of the Holy Spirit*.

it became the most live and fascinating feature of the new programme. "Justification" dropped to a lower level of importance and was thought of as only a preparatory start for the experience which made salvation a real and present fact. Holiness meetings, holiness preaching and holiness testimonies absorbed attention. As formerly the revival preacher had culminated his sermon in a call for converts, so now the holiness preacher concluded his exposition of holiness with a fervent appeal for his listeners to expect the experience of sanctification and to testify to the fact as soon as they received it. A great wave of emotionalism swept over meetings, and for a time there was grave danger that the apprehension of truth by the training of the mind and the slow moralization of the will by the practice of ordinary virtues and by the active formation of character might be overlooked and forgotten, in the hope that all these things were the fruit of miracle. There were no more powerful exponents of this "second experience" than Robert Pearsall Smith and his gifted wife, Hannah Whitall Smith, of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. They travelled extensively at home and abroad and gave the doctrine an attractive expression, while Hannah Whitall Smith's religious books had a very great sale and a correspondingly great influence. One of the most interesting accounts of the "holiness movement" is given in her autobiography under the title, *The Unselfishness of God and How I Discovered It* (New York, 1903).

The two other items of "the fourfold gospel"—Second Coming and Faith-healing—were based, as these first two also were, on an extreme literalism in the interpretation of Scripture texts. The world was believed to be steadily growing more wicked, depraved and corrupt, and all efforts to improve it were vain and hopeless. The visible world, like the individual soul, was believed to be a moral wreck that cannot be reformed or improved. It will go from bad to worse until suddenly, without warning, Christ will come again and begin His thousand-year reign of peace and righteousness. This intense expectation of a great supernatural relief expedition tended to weaken the

interest in all social efforts. The pivot of hope was shifted from slow human achievements to a sudden *act* of God. Sickness, according to the fourfold gospel, is due to sin or to lack of faith and experience in the power of God. One who comes into the full, complete power of sanctification, it was held, should expect to be delivered from diseases.[1] All the leaders of this general type emphasized the absolute authority of Scripture. They accepted the extreme position of the Reformation and were quite oblivious of the significance of the contribution that had been made by the "spiritual Reformers" and by the early Friends. They assumed in naïve or dogmatic fashion that all the doctrines of their scheme were explicitly taught in the Bible. They set themselves squarely against the conclusions of higher criticism, they were equally opposed to the doctrine of evolution, and they treated as "unsound" all who accepted or welcomed the fresh interpretations of life and religion which modern thought has made available.

Under the literalism of interpretation which prevailed, and the absence of historical insight which marked the movement, some of the revival leaders soon began to question the position of Friends on the ordinances of baptism and the supper. David Updegraff, the boldest and most extreme of the leaders, came earliest to the conclusion that loyalty to the Word of God carried with it submission to outward baptism. He had no difficulty in finding compelling texts and, with his literal views of Scripture, "he felt it to be his duty to fulfil all righteousness." The result was that he was baptized in Philadelphia in 1885 by immersion and proceeded to include the importance of baptism in the gospel which he preached.[2] Many of his associates and followers accepted this position and took the step which he had taken.

This definite act of David Updegraff's produced a profound effect upon the Society at large. The new

[1] There were many variations in the views held on this point and by no means all the revival teachers included the four items in their gospel, though all four were very often taught.

[2] The account of his baptism is given in chapter xii. of his *Life*.

ideas, powerfully presented, had carried many Friends along and had won a wide-spread assent. The acceptance and teaching of baptism, however, came into conflict with long-standing habits of thought and deep convictions of life. Even Ohio Yearly Meeting, to which David Updegraff belonged, and in which his teachings had greatest vogue, endeavoured to remain in line with the settled Quaker position. Its Representative Meeting in 1885 submitted the following proposition for the action of the Yearly Meeting:

> We feel called upon at this time to reaffirm the scriptural views always held by Friends upon the subject of baptism and the supper.
>
> We believe that the baptism which appertains to the present dispensation is that of Christ, who baptized His people with the Holy Ghost; and that the true communion is a spiritual partaking of the body and blood of Jesus Christ by faith.
>
> Therefore no one should be received, acknowledged, or retained in the position of Minister or Elder among us, who continues to participate in or advocates the necessity of the outward rite of baptism or the supper.
>
> Monthly Meetings shall be bound by the above rules.[1]

This proposed minute was discussed throughout two sessions of the Yearly Meeting of 1885, "in much love and condescension," as the minute states, and in the end the Meeting agreed *not* to adopt it.[2] From this date, Ohio Yearly Meeting (of the Orthodox-Gurney body) took the attitude of "toleration," and its members and Ministers in large numbers proceeded to take the sacraments as a part of their religious practice. Eight other Yearly Meetings in America, the following year, adopted in succession a declaration modelled after the one which had been proposed by the Ohio Representative Meeting. A typical form of this reaffirmation is found in the minute adopted in Indiana Yearly Meeting, which reads:

> We believe it inconsistent for any one to be acknowledged or retained in the position of Minister or Elder among us who

[1] Ohio *Minutes* for 1885, p. 23.

[2] *Ibid.* for 1885, p. 23.

continues to participate in or to teach the necessity of the outward rite of baptism or the supper.[1]

London Yearly Meeting also clearly restated its position in this respect. This situation tended, more and more as time went on, to isolate and separate Ohio Yearly Meeting from intimate fellowship with sister Yearly Meetings.

The condition of American Quakerism in the latter half of the decade from 1880 to 1890 was beyond question seriously grave and acute. All fixed habits and customs were unsettled. There were many cross currents of thought and practice. Meetings were divided in attitude towards the innovations. The old brakes no longer held, and the speed of the progressive movement threatened to bring on an irreparable catastrophe. In this emergency Indiana Yearly Meeting of 1886 proposed the calling of a Conference of delegates from all the Yearly Meetings in the world in correspondence with London Yearly Meeting. The Conference was called to meet in Richmond, Indiana, in the autumn of 1887. It was attended by ninety-nine delegates from the following Yearly Meetings: London, Dublin, New England, New York, Baltimore, North Carolina, Ohio, Indiana, Western, Iowa, Canada, and Kansas, and by a small group of specially invited Friends from Philadelphia. Joseph Bevan Braithwaite of London, who had already previously four times visited the American meetings, and who was at the time a very prominent Minister of London Yearly Meeting, in type of thought and spirit, as has been said, a genuine successor of Joseph John Gurney, was the most impressive figure in the gathering, and though not Chairman of the Conference, at the same time was the patriarchal head of it. The intermingling of diverse types of Friends and the intimate fellowship of the occasion were the most important and influential features of it.

The great central event of the Conference was the preparation and adoption of a Declaration of Faith, carried

[1] *Minutes of Indiana Yearly Meeting* for 1886, p. 52.

through in the hope that this statement of belief would be effective of unity, would tend to end the painful divergencies and bring order out of the chaos. The declaration adopted by the Conference, and known as "The Richmond Declaration of Faith," was the culmination of Gurneyism. It was too long and too argumentative, but it was soundly orthodox and unequivocally evangelical. It revealed no clear consciousness of existing modern problems. It reflected no sign of the prevailing intellectual difficulties over questions of science and history. It preserved the air of infallibility which has always marked creeds and declarations. It was in every sense a relic of the past. Those who hesitated to approve it because they saw that it might, at some points, curtail their liberty, submitted to it on the ground that it was a summary of extracts from existing Disciplines and contained "nothing new."[1] Nowhere did it strike down into fresh depths of life and experience. It made no effort to interpret Christianity to this age. It was a collection of words and phrases, effectively connected for the immediate purpose in hand, but a poor, thin, mediocre expression of vital Quaker faith at the close of the nineteenth century.

The only good that can be said of this Declaration is that it fairly well satisfied the superficial demand of the hour. It rallied the divergent forces and brought them for the moment somewhere near together. It at least gave the evangelical wing of the Society the assurance that Friends were now solidly in line with orthodox traditions and as near as possible in faith to the credal churches.[2] There were, however, then as now, many Friends who knew that this Declaration, whatever else it did, did not really interpret Quakerism. It missed the most essential and vital features of it. Its account both

[1] See *Proceedings of the Conference* of 1887, esp. pp. 279, 280.

[2] Some of the Yearly Meetings adopted a set of questions to test the "soundness" of their Ministers, the questions being formulated in line with extreme orthodoxy and taking no account of Friends' historic position. By this method Joel Bean, a beautiful spiritual character, a saintly soul and a favoured Minister of the gospel, was deposed from the ministry, together with some others who held similar views with him. The action was taken by New Providence Monthly Meeting on the advice of Honey Creek Quarterly Meeting, Iowa, in 1893. A full account of the proceedings is given in *Friends' Review*, October 12, 1893.

of God and of man was radically different from that which the primitive Friends gave, and it presented a profoundly altered type of religion. The Yearly Meetings which had preserved a large element in their membership who appreciated the deeper meaning of the Quaker ideals and understood the inner heart and depth of Quaker faith, declined to adopt or accept the Richmond Declaration, though at the same time, with beautiful charity, they remained in unbroken fellowship and unchanged relation with those who did adopt it. The Yearly Meetings refusing to adopt it were—London, New England, and, for wholly different reasons, Ohio.[1] Dublin, New York, and Baltimore gave a general approval to it without "adopting" it.

Two other important problems came before the Richmond Conference: (1) The union of all the Yearly Meetings in the management of foreign missionary work; and (2) The establishment of a Triennial Conference of Yearly Meetings, with delegated powers. The time was not ripe in 1887 for either of these consummations, but in the process of time both ideals have been realized. A second Conference was held in 1892, having been preceded by a preliminary Conference at Oskaloosa, Iowa, in 1891. A third Conference was held in 1897, which recommended the creation of a central body to act at stated periods for the American Yearly Meetings, with a Uniform Discipline, and with central boards to manage the unified activities, including foreign missions. This proposal having been approved by most of the Orthodox Yearly Meetings, such a central body was established in 1902, called "The Five Years Meeting." Its Uniform Discipline was adopted by the Yearly Meetings of Canada, New England, New York, Baltimore, North Carolina, Indiana, Western, Iowa, Kansas, Oregon, California and Nebraska. Of the larger Orthodox bodies, only Philadelphia and Ohio Yearly Meetings up

[1] Philadelphia had not been officially represented at the Conference, though some Philadelphia members were present and helped to write the document. Philadelphia did not take definite action upon the Declaration. The section on baptism was opposed by a strong element in Ohio Y.M. and in the interests of "unity" the Declaration was not adopted, though it was printed by order of the meeting and circulated.

to the present time (1920) have, for different reasons, remained outside the organic union.

The Uniform Discipline, which became the constitution of the Five Years Meeting, and at the same time the form of government and system of procedure of all the meetings subordinate to it, was a broad, inclusive and reconciling document. Its statement of "essential truths," *i.e.* of the fundamental faith of Friends, seized upon and expressed with simplicity the universal principles and aspirations of present-day Christians, with special emphasis upon the inward and spiritual aspects. It referred in a footnote to the Richmond Declaration of Faith and to George Fox's Letter to the Governor of Barbados as a fuller expression of what Friends believe.[1] The Uniform Discipline revealed an interesting balance between progressive and conservative tendencies. It frankly recognized the profound changes that had taken place, but at the same time it proposed rules and regulations so formulated and expressed that scope was given for a gradual return to the methods and practices which had formerly characterized vital Quakerism. Every effort was made to raise the whole level of procedure and to vitalize meetings and activities with insight and spiritual power. The most radical change introduced by this Discipline was the abandonment of birthright membership, and the establishment in its place of a form of associate membership for children of members, who were to be counted as associates until they should request to be enrolled as full, active members, and should make a credible profession of faith.

The Five Years Meeting, by its unifying, inclusive spirit, has had a steadying and stabilizing influence throughout the Society.[2] It has made the work of all the Yearly Meetings more efficient, while it has encouraged

[1] In 1912 the Five Years Meeting decided that the Richmond Declaration was a historic statement of belief approved by the Five Years Meeting in 1902, and approved again at this time (1912) but not to be regarded as constituting a creed. *Minutes*, p. 49.

[2] London and Dublin have sent fraternal delegates to the last two meetings, and Philadelphia and Ohio have been unofficially represented by fraternal delegates.

a tolerant attitude of mind and co-operative methods of service. The extreme and radical types of thought and forms of action never represented the whole body of Friends in any section. There has always been in all Yearly Meetings of this branch a deep and quiet group of persons who possessed spiritual insight, calm faith and solid experience. They would not "strive nor cry." They regretted extreme measures and radical changes, but they were resolved to maintain unity and to hold the body together until better days should come. Through all this period of transition Quaker education has flourished. New colleges have been established or old ones expanded. Many Friends have trimmed their lamps and kept their lights burning. It has been a time of increasing missionary activity and also a period of greater devotion to the solution of practical social tasks. While some have been absorbed in building their theological towers others have quietly gone forward exhibiting the solid quality of the central faith, preparing for a true expansion of the ideals and aspirations of genuine Quakerism.

Many other constructive forces have been operating during the period since the critical years of the eighth decade of the last century. The radical aspects of the progressive movement have in some quarters grown more pronounced and the theological extremists have become more "infallible," uncompromising and uncharitable; but on the other hand education has been doing its transforming work and a new generation has been coming forth with ever clearer vision and deepened faith. The periodical literature of the Society has greatly improved, summer schools and conferences have clarified the insight of many members, and more accurate historical study of Christian thought and of the development of Quakerism has brought better perspective. Party spirit and militant championship of rival attitudes have passed, or are passing away, and truth is seen more steadily and more nearly *whole*. There has been in recent years a distinct revival of appreciation of silent worship, and there is a

growing consciousness that meetings for worship should be as free and fluid and spontaneous as is compatible with dignity and efficiency, and that individual and corporate responsibility in worship should be cultivated in every way possible.

Meantime the radically transformed type of Quakerism, with its loss of inner depth and mystical quality, with its popular methods and extreme evangelicalism, has not proved in practical experiment its attractive power and its constructive force. It has on the whole not *succeeded*, judged by what is no doubt a shallow test, though the only available one, the test of numbers. The great enthusiasm of the revival movement and the powerful appeal of the evangelists and pastors brought in very large numbers of converts, and it looked at first as though a new era of expansion had come. The signs of growth appeared everywhere, except in the meetings which remained static and "old-fashioned." The yearly census of members moved steadily upward and a spirit of hope and confidence possessed the leaders. But slowly and gradually accumulating facts gave ground for reflection and solemn meditation. It became evident, by the close of the nineteenth century, that the seeming gains were more or less doubtful and elusive. Large and impressive numbers continued to join the meetings of Friends. The additions were extremely encouraging. But the fatal weakness was that many of them did not become seasoned, deepened, spiritualized, living members of the Church. They came in and went out. Instead of old-time solid Friends on whom one could count as surely as upon the precession of the equinoxes or the movement of the tides, many of the new Friends did not arrive at deep convictions, failed to go down to the eternal foundations of spiritual life, looked for a quick and easy process of salvation, and had too little staying power to make a permanent addition to the Church which they had joined in a burst of enthusiasm. In 1903, for example, 2611 persons were received into membership by request or letter, and 2574 were lost through

disownment, resignation or discontinuance.[1] During the next five years—1904 to 1908 inclusive—13,419 were lost from membership by other causes than death.[2] This is typical of the leakage, which has steadily gone on for many years. The situation here presented is the result of many factors and cannot be traced to any one cause, but it conclusively reveals elements of weakness in the type of Quakerism under review and it calls for serious diagnosis.[3]

One of the main elements of weakness to be found in this type of Quakerism beyond question was the over-emphasis put upon the attainment of individual religious "states"—the "state" of justification or the "state" of sanctification, as though this was the goal and end of religious aspiration. "Testimony Meetings" were very frequent occasions, and in these "opportunities" the speakers reported their state and condition. The focus of attention of the individual was upon his inward feelings expressed in terms of theological formulas. He told how he had gained, and had succeeded in keeping, his assurance of salvation. The testimonies were almost uniformly individualistic. The mind was busy with its own safety and eager to discover signs of certainty that all was well with the soul. Some degree of this inward concern is surely right. The health of the soul is, within limits, a proper aim. The main difficulty lay in the over-stimulation of this interest. It overtopped or absorbed all other religious interests, and often revealed a morbid condition. The constant testimonies of introspection, repeated week after week, indicated little progress or advance in the true qualities of life. The fact that the religious life must be a progressive and continually unfolding affair, opening out into new dimensions and into ever-increasing richness in the things of God, was not clearly enough in evidence. The tendency to take

[1] *The American Friend*, vol. xi. p. 55.

[2] The figures are taken from printed *Minutes* of the Y.M.'s.

[3] In 1891 the Orthodox Y.M.'s in America reported 84,248 members. Ten years later they reported 92,898, two new Yearly Meetings having been established in the period. In 1911 the total membership was 96,907, one new Y.M. having been established in the ten-year period.

Scripture literally and to carry back into its words the theories which developed in later periods of Christian history was unfortunate. Still more unfortunate was the failure to appreciate the illuminating results of careful historical study of the Bible and the development of religious ideas through the periods covered by the Old and New Testaments. This failure prevented these extensive groups of Friends from attaining a real knowledge of the ethical and spiritual meaning of the Book which they exalted and pronounced infallible, but did not read and study with ever-expanding insight. They could not make any use of the immense gains of the age and so ascend to higher levels of appreciation and comprehension.

No less essential for the expansion of the true religious life is the discovery of the primary law of religion—the discovery that he who seeks to save his own life loses it, and he who loses his own life in a great cause finds it. In other words, religion does not come to its full power or reach a high spiritual level until it transcends the individualistic attitude and becomes profoundly *social.* It is here in its occupation with self that such a type of religion cuts its own nerve and sinew, and loses its conquering power. The way out and the way up into a religion of greater richness and power is through a fuller comprehension of the meaning of the Cross of Christ, not as a scheme of salvation, but *as a way of life, as the way all Christians are to go.*

Fortunately many American Friends have all along known this, and their lives have positively witnessed to this truth. Though the honest historian of the period must faithfully report that there has been an excessive emphasis on theological schemes in the American Quakerism here considered, he must also say, for the honour of truth, that there have been noble exceptions to this central absorption, and that there have been many Friends who were living in the midst of these conditions and who were nevertheless dedicated to the task of making the burdens of life easier for others and of

pushing back the skirts of darkness and of widening the area of light in the world. The strand of humanitarian love that runs like a golden thread through the entire Quaker movement from George Fox onward reappeared here also, and showed that, however altered from the earlier parent stock this form of Quakerism might be, it still bore the hall-mark of its original. There was in many of these Quaker circles the same profound interest in the care of the coloured freedmen that characterized the Friends of a former time. The Indian race still found in these Friends true friends and helpers. The stern opposition to war which ran like a hereditary trait through Quaker history, remained as formerly and on the same ground, namely, that war is inconsistent with the spirit of human love and fellowship.

That humanitarian interest which seemed to belong peculiarly to Friends, namely, the concern for those who were classed as criminal offenders, still continued keen and vital. Elizabeth Comstock (1814–1891), one of the most forceful women leaders of the revival movement, spent a great part of her life visiting prisons, working for the spiritual conversion of prisoners and for a radical change in methods of correction.[1] In the early days of the revival, in 1867, the Representative Meeting of Indiana Yearly Meeting appointed a committee "to organize a system for the reformation of juvenile offenders and the improvement in prison discipline."[2] This committee, continued from year to year, has had a far-reaching influence throughout the State and beyond it. The establishment of a modern type of Boys' Reformatory and Girls' Reformatory in Indiana is largely due to the activities of this committee. The building of a model prison for women, the opening of County Homes for Orphans, the creation of the Board of State Charities, the transformation of the asylum for the insane, and the institutions for the care of the poor are in large measure

[1] *Life and Letters of Elizabeth L. Comstock*, compiled by C. Hare (London and Phila., 1895). E. Comstock was a native of England, a sister of Lydia Rous, the educator.

[2] *Minutes of Indiana Y.M.*

the results of the work of this committee.[1] For over fifty years Timothy Nicholson has been one of the guiding spirits of this impressive Quaker work. Charles F. and Rhoda M. Coffin were influential members of the committee. So, too, was Murray Shipley of Cincinnati. Timothy Nicholson, born in North Carolina in 1828, has exhibited the traits and qualities of mind and heart that have characterized the best Quaker reformers of the past. He has had a clear vision of what ought to be done; he has been actuated by the spirit of the Master; he has been free from selfishness or self-seeking; he has never known when he was defeated, and he has worked in fine co-operation with others. He was for nineteen years—1889 to 1908—a member of the Indiana Board of State Charities. His name will always be associated with the institutions in the State of Indiana for the correction, recovery and redemption of those who have gone wrong.[2] Alexander Johnson, the first Secretary of the Indiana Board of State Charities, says: "It is a moderate estimate of Timothy Nicholson's work and influence to say that for fifty years he has been, in all matters of charity and correction, the wisest, strongest, and most useful citizen of the State."[3] James Wood, born 1839, of Mount Kisco, New York, has done a similar work in his State and has carried into methods of reformation and correction the deepest principles of the Quaker faith. He has, furthermore, given himself to a large number of important philanthropic and humanitarian undertakings. Joshua L. Baily (1826–1916) was a lifelong member of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, but he entered with deep sympathy into the movement of evangelical awakening and revival. He shared the strong evangelical views of the wisest leaders of this movement. His long life of humanitarian service places him in the list of the most devoted Quaker reformers of his generation. His

[1] See article on "Social Progress in Indiana" in *The Survey* (New York), April 22 and 29, 1916.

[2] At the age of 88 he published an important pamphlet on *The Administration of Indiana State Institutions.*

[3] "Social Progress in Indiana," p. 8.

earliest reforming interest was shown in a fresh and intelligent campaign for temperance. He established coffee-houses in Philadelphia as a safe and moral substitute for the drinking saloon. He worked all through his life with unabated zeal for peace and arbitration. He, too, exerted a strong and positive influence for the improvement of methods of correction in the penal institutions of Pennsylvania, where Roberts Vaux, Isaac Collins and Philip C. Garrett were valiant labourers for the same cause.

It is too soon to estimate the significance of the transformations which this chapter has recorded. We ourselves of this generation have been living *in* these currents and we cannot judge fairly upon their import or their final direction. We can say impartially that some change had to come. The old had become outdated and needed to be shaken. The change, when it came, was more revolutionary than one could have wished. It broke too violently with the past; it was too weak in historical insight, and it has carried its adherents pretty far from the original ground and basis of the Society of Friends. The situation is, however, not beyond remedy. There is a true and living seed of Quaker faith within the bodies which have undergone these changes. A new spirit of understanding has arisen, a cord of love and fellowship unites groups of Friends who follow different paths. There is co-operation even where there is not agreement. There is a better historical insight emerging. There is an enlarging spirit of human service. God is still revealing Himself in vital, operative ways. And, therefore, momentous things may even yet come forth. A little one can become a thousand and a small one a great people![1]

[1] Isaiah lx. 22.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE AWAKENING IN ENGLAND

NEARLY parallel with the revival movement which swept over American Quakerism, transformations, hardly less profound, were occurring in the Quakerism of Great Britain and Ireland. Here no large separations had taken place, no sharp cleavages divided the Quaker flock. Very real differences existed and controversies were often intense, but they were always kept within limits and restraints, and the unity and integrity of the Society were maintained. Throughout the period of theological earnestness, while Friends in America were breaking asunder, English Friends, with the single exception of a small Beaconite separation, were working out their destiny together and were preparing, somewhat unconsciously, no doubt, for the greater things that were coming. It is almost impossible to overestimate the value to English Friends of the integrity of the body. The Society as a whole held an inclusive point of view and united many aspects of the truth. Friends thus merged together into one undivided whole the conservative and the progressive tendency. Neither influence could have its way unchallenged. Give and take became a necessity. This situation was often a heavy strain on temper and patience, but it proved to be a condition of immense value. The habit of holding a position confronted by an opposition position which must be respected has great importance in the formation of spiritual character, and this habit has always been a strong feature of English Quakerism.

As the Society emerged from its "medieval" period,

its quietistic tendencies, its absorption in its own "peculiarities," and awoke to its *mission* in the modern world, English Friends showed from the first a characteristically different centre of interest to that which dominated the leading spirits in the American Society. Here the interest centred, as the last chapter has plainly shown, on the salvation of the soul, that is to say, it was primarily individualistic and theological. Evangelical preaching became an all-important matter, and everywhere the positive results looked for were definite conversions or sanctifications. In England, on the other hand, the centre of interest among Friends, as the awakening to a new life and a new career became a fact, was emphatically humanistic and social rather than theological.[1] English Friends felt more quickly and more keenly than did American Friends the intellectual and social currents of the time. The former were not so far removed as the latter from the larger world around them. From the beginning of the century the English Society had been producing men and women who stood in the front rank of certain departments of thought and action, and who were making large contributions to the life of the nation. These larger typical personalities exerted a powerful influence in their meetings and helped to lift the entire membership to a higher level of vision. The young men (and, of course, the young women) were excluded from the universities, but, in spite of this handicap, they educated themselves at their excellent schools and by the help of tutors and by travel, so that by the middle of the century there was a large membership of Friends both in England and in Ireland, who were possessed of a breadth of mind and a quality of scholarship quite the equal to that attained at Oxford and Cambridge.

What I have called the humanistic trait, used in a good sense, is strongly in evidence from 1850 onwards. The annual Epistles of London Yearly Meeting still for some time reveal the theological mind and the old order runs

[1] There were, of course, many English and Irish Friends who had the same fundamental interest and the same general outlook as characterized the leaders of the revival movement in America.

along unconsciously with the new order that was coming to birth, but one can feel in the columns of *The* (London) *Friend*, *The British Friend* and the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* that the centre of interest is gradually shifting and that a new age is under way.[1] The interest in the liberation of slaves everywhere in the world became stronger each year, and all Quaker literature in Great Britain and all official documents were saturated with this aspiration. The long fight in England against the tax on corn produced a marked effect on the Society. The issue that appealed to Friends was not an economic one; it was a human struggle for larger freedom and wider life for the poorer and unfriended classes. The work of the early Quaker philanthropists again left its mark on the rank and file of the Society. It was no longer natural and normal to "live all inward," to be absorbed with the soul, to give the priority to theology. A new world of thought was in process of birth, a new social order was being formed and new national political ideals were emerging. These things fixed the attention of many of the leading English Friends and gradually the whole Society felt the appeal of these fresh human and social interests.

One of the most interesting indications of a change of religious emphasis among English Friends appears in the part which members of the Society took in public service during the second half of the century. Prominent Friends who were qualified to deal with national and international questions felt impelled to stand for election to Parliament and to make their contribution by assisting in the work of shaping the laws and the policies of the nation. The great influence which John Bright exerted and the power of his example made a deep impression upon the entire Society and turned the attention of Friends strongly in this direction. Obviously, however, only a few members

[1] *The* (London) *Friend* was begun as a monthly journal, edited by Charles Tylor, in 1843. *The British Friend* began also as a monthly the same year, being edited by William and Robert Smeal of Glasgow. The *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* entered on its important career in 1867, being edited by W. C. Westlake.

of such a small religious body could expect to find their career of service in Parliament, though the list of Friends who served in the House of Commons from 1850 onwards is out of all proportion to the size of the membership of the Society.[1]

But another field of public service lay open to Friends in every part of the country, namely, in the local affairs of the municipalities, and in these humbler tasks many of them found careers of large public usefulness. It has now become clearly patent everywhere that the moral health of a country is very surely revealed in the prevailing conditions of the municipal life of the towns and cities of the nation. If the local municipal governments are cleanly and honestly administered, and efficient provisions are made for the best and highest interests of the people who compose the towns and cities, a sound basis has been laid for good national government and for the prosperity of the land. To this work, therefore, of laying the right foundations for pure and efficient municipal government many Friends felt the call to devote themselves. Joseph Sturge was one of the first to lead the way, and gradually a large number of Friends came forward to share in the public tasks of their local communities. The office of Lord Mayor or Mayor was in numerous instances filled by a Friend, and many Friends were selected as Aldermen. Until the year 1829 Friends had been excluded from the position of Magistrate by the requirements of the "tests," but with the repeal of the Test Act in that year it became possible for Friends to enter this line of service, and here again many of the members of the Society felt free and glad to take their part in the public responsibilities of civil life. Friends in the first half of the nineteenth century did not find it easy to come out of their isolation from the world, and the freedom to engage in public service had to be slowly won. Joseph Rowntree, writing in 1838, says:

[1] There have been to date 41 members of the Society of Friends who have been in Parliament and 28 other persons closely connected with the Society. (See interesting article in *The Friend* for December 9, 1904.) Two members of the Society have been members of the House of Lords.

> The subject of Friends entering corporations and accepting the office of Magistrate engaged a good deal of attention [in the Yearly Meeting]. There was evidently a strong disposition to declare the office of Magistrate incompatible with the views of Friends and also to discourage Friends from entering corporate bodies. I offered no sentiment, but it did appear to me that the meeting was in danger of embracing the essentially monastic opinion, that we might escape the spirit of this world by avoiding its more public duties.[1]

It was through the work and spirit of such forward-looking men that the broader views of life came eventually to prevail.

There can be no question that in these various ways Friends made an important contribution to the civic and national life of Great Britain, but hardly less important was the effect upon the Society itself. The centre of interest was bound to become shifted; the mode and manner of life was sure to be altered. Where a Friend of spiritual solidity like, for instance, John Stephenson Rowntree of York, son of Joseph Rowntree, became Lord Mayor of his city, the signal event could hardly leave the Quakerism of the city unaffected. Gradually but steadily the public interests and sympathies of Friends throughout the nation widened. They turned their thought and attention to the elevation of the public press, to city planning and to many other ways of raising the scale and value of life in city and country.

As is usual when religious transformations are under way, many of the movements which gradually produced a new era for English Quakerism were begun without much conscious reflection and with little foresight of consequences. They were guided by intuition and unanalysed feelings rather than by intellectually formulated plans. Steps were taken to accomplish some near proximate end and unexpectedly a great step was seen to be involved in the first one, and slowly unfolding events carried the movement on to a goal undreamed of when

[1] *Memoir of Joseph Rowntree*, p. 256. Joseph Rowntree was chosen Alderman of York in 1853 and rendered the city signal service. In 1858 he was elected Lord Mayor of York, but felt compelled to decline the honour.

the first step was taken. History is full of these unreflected mutations which are due to small increments of change and which cannot be traced back to any clearly preformed constructive plan. That situation, so familiar to the student of history, is plainly in evidence here, but it does not cover all the facts. It was, of course, in accordance with the Quaker spirit and genius to move forward in obedience to the push of inward feeling, to be guided like the migrating or homing bird. But at the same time there was another factor in the situation which must not be neglected. Soon after the middle period of the century Friends awoke to the serious condition which confronted the Society. The religious census of Great Britain, taken in 1850 and printed in 1851, revealed a very much smaller number of Friends than had generally been supposed, and it forced thoughtful persons to consider the unescapable fact of a decline. Certain leading Friends now looked the situation squarely in the face, searchingly examined it, carefully criticized the practical methods in operation, and pointed out, with intelligent insight, whither the Society was *actually drifting* and whither it really ought instead to be *steering*. This critical work, this intelligent leadership, this reflective guidance proved to be a momentous factor.

In 1855 an anonymous writer in *The Friend* spoke out vigorously of the "grievous state," "the state of dwarfishness," to which the Society had come. This writer paints the nakedness of the Society in cold, sober colours.

"Ministry in our Society," he declares, "has sunk in many places to nothing, in many others to little better than nothing. Now, if the sound of the gospel be rarely heard in our meetings from year's end to year's end, as is the case in some parts, and if the private reading, searching, and teaching [of the Gospels] be but slightly practised, is it any wonder that there should be but little growth in the vital experience of truth. To a consideration of these points I would direct the serious attention of Friends generally and the Meeting for Sufferings especially."[1]

[1] A letter discussing the Query, "Is there among you any growth in the truth?" *The Friend* (London), vol. xiii. p. 68.

There are many such frank and fearless comments upon the condition of the Society to be found in the pages of *The Friend* and *The British Friend* during these lean and critical years, but by far the most important piece of reflective criticism and at the same time of constructive study was a prize essay written by John Stephenson Rowntree of York and published in 1859, entitled *Quakerism Past and Present; being an Inquiry into the Causes of its Decline in Great Britain and Ireland.*[1] This historical and critical study, made by John Stephenson Rowntree, who was well equipped for his task, was a contribution of great importance and it had a marked influence on the course of eventual development. After a brief review of the birth of Quakerism and of its differentiating characteristics, the essayist turned to his "inquiry into the causes of decline." His first critical point was that "the peculiar form of public worship adopted by Friends has had not a little to do with their declining numbers."[2] In expanding this point, he maintains that Friends have made a "form" of silence and have pushed the practice of it to an absurd extreme. He recognizes that living silence brings spiritual refreshment to mature and experienced worshippers, but he maintains that it by no means follows that silence is fit or even desirable for persons of a different type, especially for young, inexperienced and unconverted persons, for whom long-continued silence—hours upon a stretch—can be only a burden. He quotes a confirmatory testimony to the soundness of his position from the experience of Elizabeth Fry, as follows:

To believe, as I do, that some of our congregations are in an unregenerate state, how must their silent meetings be passed. And for babes in Christ I have great fears, inasmuch as true,

[1] A prize of one hundred guineas for the best essay on the above subject, and one of fifty guineas for the essay of second merit, were offered in 1858 by an unnamed donor who was impressed with the fact that the Society of Friends was declining and that its power was gradually becoming more and more feeble. The first prize was awarded to the essay discussed in the text. The second prize, later increased by the donor also to one hundred guineas, was awarded to Thomas Hancock, a clergyman of the Church of England, for his remarkable essay called *The Peculium.*

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 27.

solemn, silent worship is a very high administration of spiritual worship. I frequently fear for such that more external aid is wanted, though I see not how it is to be given.[1]

The essayist proceeds to show how profound is the mistake of supposing that one form of worship is the only one acceptable to God and suited to the needs of the Church. The failure to make use of the Scriptures as sources of instruction and edification and the fear of all human arrangements for the adequate performance of public worship are, he thinks, palpable blunders in method.

The paucity of gifted Ministers in the Society is another obvious cause of spiritual weakness. In many parts of the Society he finds that two-thirds of the meetings have no "acknowledged Minister," and he clearly recognizes that there are in general "but few Ministers conspicuous for their eloquence and general ability" and that much of the ministry is "justly chargeable with serious defects of style and expression, tending to obscure the meaning of the words spoken."[2] The reason for this paucity and poverty of ministry, he thinks, is due in large measure to the mistaken emphasis on the *extraordinary revelation* required by Quaker theory for "rightly qualified ministry." It is assumed that all true ministry should be entirely unpremeditated, the *immediate* influence of the Spirit must be of a degree hardly inferior to that granted to the Hebrew prophets, comprehending directions as to the matter spoken, the words to be used, time, place, etc. No opportunity being provided for any other kind of ministry besides this divinely-given ministry, and few persons appearing who have such miraculous experience, it naturally follows that ministry is excessively rare and Ministers seldom arise. The Essay forcibly criticizes the Quaker tendency to disparage instrumental and secondary means of spiritual development, and to expect everything to be done by a divine afflatus. Friends have suffered, he thinks, from the defects of their education, from the elimination of the fine arts and music, and from their contracting, narrowing methods of life and culture. With-

[1] *Quakerism Past and Present*, p. 30. [2] *Ibid.* p. 36.

out altogether realizing the full effect of their system, Friends have been isolating themselves from the currents of culture around them and crystallizing into a static and unprogressive body, doomed to be left behind in the onward march of progress. Their artificial peculiarities of dress and speech and manner are, he thinks, a further hindrance to growth and progress. The emphasis is misplaced and the infinitely little is unduly exalted.[1]

With telling effect J. S. Rowntree reviewed the Quaker statistics over the period between the death of Fox and the date of his essay. He pointed out that in 1680 there was probably one Friend in Great Britain and Ireland to every one hundred and thirty of general population. In 1800 the proportion was about one to every four hundred and seventy of general population, while in 1850 the proportion was about one to every eleven hundred.[2] The writer attributes the chief cause of this declension to the drastic enforcement of Quaker Discipline in reference to marriages. A careful analysis of marriage statistics leads him to the conclusion that fully one-third of all members of the Society who have married during the previous fifty years have been disowned for marrying persons not Friends. The heaviest penalty imposable by a Christian church has been ruthlessly inflicted for the violation of an autocratic rule of Discipline dealing with one of the most sacred acts of human life. "Rich indeed must be that church which can spare such members for such a cause."[3] With keen irony the essayist declares that while Friends have had such an active part in reforming the criminal code of the nation, it is a pity that they did not see their way to reform their own criminal code![4]

[1] *Ibid.* chap. iii.

[2] The actual number of Friends in England and Wales in 1850 was 14,530.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 157. The marriage rate among Friends fell far behind the general average of population, marriage in the Society of Friends being one-fifth less frequent than in the population at large. And with this decline of marriage there was a corresponding disproportion in birth rate.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 134. A proposition to liberalize the rules in cases of "mixed marriages" was presented to London Yearly Meeting in 1856. It produced a vast amount of discussion. Action was delayed for three successive years on account of failure to agree, but the proposition was finally adopted in 1859, of which more will be said *infra*.

Finally the writer takes up the ominous waning of the zeal of propagation which has occurred in the Society. Once Friends expected to spread over the world and to leaven it with the truth, now they have lost the spirit of conquest and boast of not being a "proselytizing people!" The tendency to speak in negations, to deal in terms of inhibition and to withdraw from contact with the wider world has supplanted the original tendency of affirmation and world-transformation. The essay closes with a modest prophecy that a new era would dawn for the Society if Friends would only fulfil the conditions that are essential for an increase of life and power.

The two essays selected by the judges for the prize aroused a great amount of comment and discussion. *The British Friend*, with its conservative habits of thought, took a severely critical attitude toward J. S. Rowntree's diagnosis of the weakness of the Society. *The* (London) *Friend*, however, was in general agreement with the main lines of the essay. "We have long thought," an editorial writer says, "that the Society has needed to be more fully aroused to such considerations; and it seems to us that in the increased readiness manifested of late to enter upon them, there is to be found an evidence of vitality which promises well for the future."[1] The editor further points out that the awakening which the essayist wishes to stimulate has already begun to take place. He declares that there has not been before in "the memory of living man" so large an amount of attachment to the Society as now exists, especially among the young. "The Essays have appeared," he continues, "when already the aggressive character of the Society has been resumed. They have appeared when from north to south in our borders means and agents of religious instruction are multiplying. They have appeared when we are already awakened to the claims of heathen lands."[2]

In many other ways and by other valuable literary contributions John Stephenson Rowntree helped to awaken Friends to the seriousness of their situation. He possessed

[1] *The Friend*, vol. xviii. p. 1.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. xviii. p. 33.

genuine historical sense and insight at a time when very few Friends appreciated the importance of such insight. He saw how vital the historical factor was in the life of the Society of Friends, and he examined many of Friends' positions, not in the abstract, but in their relation to historical development. This point of view made him realize, long before others realized it, that the old order must change and give place to new and that all the Quaker positions must be considered in reference to the growing spiritual needs of the world. He is therefore one of the most important persons in the early era of the awakening.

The minutes of the Yearly Meeting from 1860 onward reveal a changing outlook on the world and an altered emphasis. The ancient concern about the height of gravestones disappears and weightier matters become prominent. In 1860 the "Queries" and "Advices" were changed at a good many points. The clause in the fourth "Query" respecting "plainness in speech, behaviour and apparel" was omitted, though at the same time the meeting recorded its concern "that the true standard of Christian simplicity and self-denial, enjoined by the Gospel, should not in any wise be lowered."[1]

The year previous to this, 1859, the marriage regulations had been changed, making it possible for a Friend and a non-Friend to be joined in marriage under the method of the Society. Joseph Rowntree of York had for many years been the outspoken champion of this change in the marriage rules. He pointed out that nearly five thousand persons had been disowned from the Society in the preceding half century for marrying contrary to the rule of Discipline, and he worked in season and out to change this mistaken practice. His own Quarterly Meeting recommended the change in 1856, and he lived only just long enough to see the wider liberty won in the Yearly Meeting.[2]

There are frequent signs from this time forward of a

[1] *Minutes of the Y.M.* for 1860, p. 28.
[2] *Memoirs*, pp. 579, 617 and *passim*.

softer, mellower climate. In 1861 a very important revision of the entire Discipline was made. The changes, which were numerous, were in the direction of the relaxation of severe rules, and were made with the aim of securing more practical results. Daniel Pickard, who belonged to the Fritchley "remnant," declared that "more than fifty rules of Discipline or specific advices" were "abrogated and removed."[1]

One of the most interesting changes which appears in this revision is in the direction of increasing the democratic character of the Yearly Meeting. In 1795 the meeting had adopted a restrictive minute intended to confine the exercises of the Yearly Meeting to weighty, seasoned and obedient Friends. It was as follows:

> A concern hath been spread amongst us, that the management of our Christian discipline be not committed to hands unclean; particularly that such should not be active therein, who allow, or connive at, undue liberties in their own children or families. "If a man," said the Apostle, "know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the church of God?" And we particularly desire that those who, from their experience and stations, ought to lead such to greater circumspection, do not encourage their remissness by putting them improperly forward into service.[2]

This minute was now expunged from the Book of Discipline, and the new Discipline declared instead that the Yearly Meeting "consists of *all the members* of the Quarterly and General Meetings in Great Britain and of representatives from the Yearly Meeting in Ireland."

The reference in *The* (London) *Friend*, given above, to the "awakening" as already under way is significant. There can now be no question that a real transformation was beginning in earnest. A new era was at hand. A great revival spread over Ireland in 1859, and many Friends were deeply impressed by it.[3] English Friends were at this very time, as we have seen, revising their Queries, lessening the emphasis upon plainness of dress

[1] Pickard's *Expostulation*, p. 46. [2] *Discipline* (ed. 1802), p. 50.
[3] *The Friend*, vol. xvii. p. 141.

and speech, centring more definitely upon the vital matters of religion. But the most evident sign of new life was the steadily increasing interest in foreign mission work, what the editor of *The Friend* called an awakening to the "claims of heathen lands." I have briefly reviewed the birth of this outreaching spirit in a preceding chapter. Individual Friends had already for a quarter of a century been visiting foreign lands with an intense desire to minister to the spiritual life of the less favoured races. About 1850 this desire, which had until then been largely individual, now became a more or less corporate interest. The new development was in large measure due to the faithful efforts of George Richardson of Newcastle, already eighty-six years of age, who, like the aged Simeon, saw a light of revelation to the heathen. He wrote a series of fervent letters, sixty in number, designed to arouse Friends from their ease and lethargy and to call them to "their true line of service." He made short work of the ancient excuse that Friends cannot engage in the work of spreading the gospel in heathen lands without the abandonment of their "principles." He it was who first suggested the formation of a Friends' Association for aiding in the diffusion of gospel light amongst the heathen and other unenlightened nations.[1] This old man proved to be the prophet of the hour and his letters mark an epoch in the history of the Society of Friends.[2]

Before this proposed Association was actually formed and while the statesmen of the Society were debating the question whether missionary work could be undertaken without surrendering the Quaker faith in individual guidance, a few brave persons with venturing faith proved that Friends could do effective missionary work by actually doing it. Without waiting for the interim debate to finish they went out and took the land! India and Madagascar were being prepared for spiritual adventure before the official meetings were ready to undertake the

[1] Dr. H. T. Hodgkin's *Friends Beyond Seas*, pp. 42-44.

[2] Other sympathetic leaders of the time were Thomas Pumphrey, Josiah Forster, Isaac Brown, John Ford, Thomas Hodgkin, and Robert Alsop.

risk of going forward.[1] The editor of *The Friend* in 1860, in a leading article of much insight, told his readers that "the divinely-framed petition 'Thy Kingdom come' must surely be regarded as in itself furnishing a sound and sufficient incentive to well-directed action." He reminded Friends that the Quaker conception of salvation and of individual responsibility to the gifts received directly from God, far from being incompatible with whole-hearted missionary activity was excellently "calculated to secure permanent success in efforts for the evangelization of the heathen," while Friends' opposition to war and their practice of preaching the gospel without money and without price would "eminently conduce to favourable results."[2]

Henry Stanley Newman, a young man of twenty-three in 1860, threw himself with enthusiasm and living inspiration into this cause, which from henceforth absorbed his soul, and he became from the first one of the foremost leaders of the movement in the home field. A provisional committee, formed in 1865, was the first stage of definite missionary organization. H. S. Newman was chosen honorary secretary of this committee, but even yet there was a large element of the Society not ready for the great innovation. Gradually the few who were on fire kindled the rest, and the demonstration of events finally conquered even the most conservative. In 1868 "The Friends' Foreign Missionary Association" was formed, "to aid the spread of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ" in mission work abroad, which has proved to be one of the greatest agencies for the spiritual service of the Society of Friends in the world. Its field has steadily widened out, its scope has enlarged, and it has accomplished a comprehensive work of educational and spiritual transformation in India, Madagascar, Syria, China, and Ceylon.[3]

[1] Joseph S. Sewell's name will always be intimately associated with the beginning of Friends' work in Madagascar, and Rachel Metcalfe's name is indissolubly bound up with the work in India.

[2] *The Friend*, vol. xviii. p. 170.

[3] The history of the first fifty years of the work and experiences of this Association is given in Dr. H. T. Hodgkin's *Friends Beyond Seas*.

Great as have been the results from the labours of this Association beyond seas, in the lands where the consecrated missionaries have gone to translate the gospel of Christ into life, no less great has been the effect of its work upon the Society itself at home. The gift has been twice blessed: it has blessed the recipients, but it has at the same time equally blessed the bestowers, and a new life has silently formed within the Society as it has risen to accomplish its mission in the world.

Not less important, alike for its influence on the membership and for its effect on the English Society, has been the definite outreaching constructive work of Friends in the home field, a work begun almost at the same time as the taking up of the work abroad. The most impressive feature of this home work was the creation and development of Adult Schools.

Adult School work, like foreign missionary work, had a long uneventful period of evolution before Friends awoke to discover their own distinct "call" to this service. Adult classes for the study of the Bible were formed not long after Robert Raikes established his first "Sunday schools" in 1782. The most famous of these early adult classes were those started in Nottingham in 1798. The idea spread and many towns had classes or schools in operation before Friends had any large place in the work. The work of Dr. Thomas Pole in Bristol has been mentioned in an earlier chapter. The epoch-making step in the movement was the founding of the Severn Street Adult School in Birmingham in 1845 by Joseph Sturge. He was one of those rare and wonderful men who put a whole life and a radiant spirit behind each thing they undertake. His first aim was to reach and influence the boys of Birmingham, but unexpectedly men came as well as boys, and by 1852 the Adult School proper became differentiated and was launched upon its momentous career. In 1847 Joseph Sturge invited Quaker teachers from all parts of England to a conference on Bible teaching. Out of this conference the Friends' First-day School Association came to birth the same year, with

Joseph Storrs Fry, of Bristol, as honorary secretary. The next important event in the development was the coming of William White to Birmingham, and the dedication of his life to the Adult School movement. When he began his work in Birmingham there were possibly five hundred men and women in adult classes; when he died fifty years later there were fifty thousand members in the Adult Schools of England.[1]

There was from 1860 onward a steady growth of the movement and a parallel internal development of the idea. Beside the early morning classes for study and discussion, meetings for worship for the men and their families were added. These meetings had some features of a Friends' meeting. There were periods of silence, and a large degree of freedom of utterance for all in attendance, though some one person was generally asked to read a passage of Scripture and give an opening address. As the movement progressed it developed numerous social and economic features, and furnished the members with the mutual advantages of a well-organized club, while, unlike many clubs, it ministered effectively to the higher life of the membership. The aims and methods of the movement were clearly set forth in a document issued by the National Council of the Adult School movement, held at Ackworth School in 1902, a few extracts from which are here given:

> An Adult School is a society of men or women (over seventeen or eighteen years of age) formed for the purpose of mutual helpfulness.
>
> The basis of an Adult School is the practical teaching of Jesus Christ. It does not concern itself with the spreading of special theories, but aims at helping the members in their actual lives. . . .
>
> The free but reverent and practical study of the Bible conducted in common with full opportunity for discussion, is deemed the centre of the School work.
>
> Each School is governed as much as possible by the members themselves. . . .
>
> The only qualification for membership is a wish to join the

[1] Rowntree and Binns, *History of Adult Schools* (London, 1903), p. 19.

School. The members of a School may belong to any denomination, or to none.[1]

As the work unfolded the Adult School became in large measure an unsectarian working-man's church, developing the gifts of multitudes of men and women, training Christian workers, forming a corporate spirit of brotherhood, enlarging the mental life of the fellowship, and making the practical religion of the Gospels a real factor in the homes and the lives of the labourers of Great Britain. It has been in many ways, both in spirit and practice, like the "Tertiaries" of the Franciscan Brotherhood. It has not been a new sect, it has been a new fellowship, and a new attempt to carry the practical religion of Christ into actual operation.

Here, again, we are especially concerned with the subjective effect, the reaction upon the Society of Friends itself. There can be no question that the effect upon the men and women who have joined the Adult Schools has been very great, certainly comparable in quality if not in extent to the effect which the work of Wesley and Whitefield had upon the labouring forces of England in the eighteenth century. But no less marked has been the transformation of the Society which has, in large measure, been the instrument of this spiritual service. More than any other single thing which Friends have undertaken previous to the world war, this work has taken the members of the Society out of themselves. It has made them unselfish and eager to live and to sacrifice for others. It has given them deep and intense human interests, sympathy and fellowship. The life and the problems of a different class of persons from themselves have been brought home to their own experience, and their whole knowledge of the world has been transformed thereby, and not their knowledge only, but their entire human attitude as well. The teachers of adult classes have unconsciously found themselves woven into the human life of the world, and, without planning for it, and without any ordination, they

[1] Rowntree and Binns, *History of Adult Schools*, p. 25.

have found themselves drawn into the pastoral care of a flock which before had been unshepherded. The effect upon meetings and upon the manner of conducting them has not been slight, though the central idea of direct worship and immediate communion has remained unchanged; but after all the most striking effect has been the gradual change that has been wrought upon the individuals composing the Society, through the discovery by practical work of the meaning and power of Christianity.

Through this fellowship with the working men and their families Friends were brought face to face with problems of the social order which they would have known about only in an abstract way if it had not been for this direct contact. For many years these problems did not come to clear consciousness in the minds of those who taught the Adult Schools. The lines of cleavage in the social world were taken as a matter of course. They had always existed, as hills and valleys had, and these early workers did not feel any call either to exalt the valleys or to bring down the hills. Their plan was a simple one, to teach these men and to give them a wider human fellowship. But as time went on and the living conditions and the environment of this class of labourers came to be fully revealed, interested Friends began to study the social and economic questions which were involved in the lives of these men whom they were teaching. It was a natural unfolding and maturing of social interest. It has, however, led to immense results. It has gradually carried almost the entire body of Friends in Great Britain into a solid and serious consideration of the basic questions of economics, politics and social order, and it has changed them from the most exclusive religious denomination—a peculiar people—into a body as deeply concerned as any in the world for the reformation and reconstruction of the social and economic conditions, so that all who live and labour may have a full share of the joys and responsibilities of life.

The beginning of Home Mission work also marked an epoch in the spiritual awakening of English Friends. In

the year 1873, Essex Quarterly Meeting, on the instigation of Thaxted Monthly Meeting, laid before the Yearly Meeting, in an impressive minute, the low, declining condition of its membership and asked that a conference be held to "deliberate upon the State of our Society in England"; "more especially," the minute declared,

> in reference to the decrease in the attendance of our meetings for worship, held on First-day afternoons or evenings, and on other days of the week; the lessened interest apparent in many places in the meetings for transacting the affairs of the Church; the relative decline in the number of members; the amount of religious teaching and pastoral care bestowed on its members, and its action as a Church on the world at large.[1]

The entire subject was referred to the Meeting for Sufferings, and a conference was arranged by that body in accordance with the proposal of Essex Quarterly Meeting. The conference was held in the autumn of 1873, and was attended by large numbers of Friends. There was a searching discussion of the vital problems raised in the Quarterly Meeting minute—the decrease of attendance, the lessened interest in business meetings, the relative decline of membership, the need for more adequate pastoral care, and the religious instruction of the young.[2] The conclusions arrived at were general and hortatory, and couched in conservative phrases, but the conference itself, with its frank consideration of fundamental questions, marked a real stage in the process of gradual awakening. It was one factor among the influences that led a few years later to the formation of a Home Mission Committee. The movement for Home Mission work was animated by the same outreaching spirit and by the same desire to propagate the gospel among those who were unchurched which had led to the organization of the foreign missionary work. This was a spontaneous and, at first, an unorganized effort to reach the masses of people in the English cities, towns and hamlets who were unshepherded and largely untouched

[1] *Printed Proceedings of Y.M.* 1873, p. 20.
[2] The Report of the Conference is given in *P.P.Y.M.* 1874, pp. 21-24.

by the Christianity of the churches. This work began without much plan or forecast as a way of interesting and of bringing spiritual influence to bear upon the large class of men and women who seldom heard a religious message. Under the religious concern of some evangelically-minded Friend or a group of Friends, the feeble Sunday evening meeting of a community was transformed to meet the need of the wider group around it. The rigid Quaker type of meeting was modified, and a new type was slowly formed, adapted to the needs of those who were to be drawn into it. Silence was not abandoned, but it was no longer a main feature of the evening meetings. A Bible reading, a prepared address with an appealing gospel note, the singing of hymns, and a period of free spontaneous speaking or praying formed the elastic programme. The atmosphere of these meetings was warm and genial. Those who came soon felt at home and found what they needed for their inner life, and the movement grew, and spread over many sections of the Society.

In 1881 an important conference was held in Devonshire House, London, for the purpose of increasing the scope of this community work, of making it more efficient and of planning for a more definite organization of it. This conference made a careful review of the spiritual condition of the Society, its failure to grow, its inadequate conception of its mission in the world, and the tremendous need of a present-day awakening. The fact that there existed a very large number of closed meeting-houses in neighbourhoods where multitudes of persons needed a quickening ministry, and the further fact that Friends could not be saved as a people unless they were ready to lose themselves for the sake of others, made a deep impression on this conference, and brought it to definite action. It appointed a provisional committee to take charge of the Home Mission work of Friends. This committee was asked to lay the needs of this work before the coming Yearly Meeting of 1882. That action brought important results. The Yearly Meeting, after a discussion which revealed very divergent attitudes, a strongly con-

servative influence on the one hand and an intensely evangelical spirit on the other, concluded to adopt the Home Mission work, and to put it under the care of a central committee of the Yearly Meeting. This was one more sign of the power of English Friends to go forward and to meet an urgent situation, even though there were varying opinions and lack of unity; and while this momentous step involved years of painful discussion, and some real transformation of Quaker methods and ideals, it was distinctly a forward movement, and has led to expansion, enlargement of membership, increase of depth, and, on the whole, to a gain in insight and in spiritual power.

John T. Dorland, a highly gifted young Friend, born in Canada in 1860, and whose life ended all too soon, in 1896, settled in England in 1890, where he had already laboured effectively. He was a dedicated worker, and in the brief time left for his service he made a valuable contribution to the growing spiritual life of the Society.[1]

However significant the practical, social and spiritual tasks of a religious denomination are, both upon the recipients of the service and upon the agents of it, there are other and deeper conditions which for ever underlie all social service and all constructive work. The real driving force of a religious denomination is always bound up inherently with the central dominating *idea*, the dynamic faith, which the denomination embodies and incarnates. When no live idea any longer possesses it, and it acts only by the transmitted momentum of the past, it becomes negligible, even though it may still exhibit considerable display of activity. The living idea, the positive faith at the heart of the body, is always the organizing power and the prophetic potency of the movement. It becomes, therefore, important to study the way in which the Society of Friends in Great Britain met the new intellectual era and how it adjusted itself to the momentous changes of thought that affected all ranks of human society in the half century between 1850 and 1900.

[1] W. King Baker's *John T. Dorland* (London, 1898).

During this period, most thoughtful, intellectual persons, awake to the currents of the time, became aware that they were living in an age of intellectual reconstruction. They noted, either with joy or with concern, the unparalleled march of science. It ceased to be a series of happy guesses. It became a well-organized system of knowledge, verified and buttressed by facts. Every field of investigation yielded astonishing results. New sciences were born and grew to unexampled power in a single generation. In each of these fields the expert workers learned to speak with authority, and not as scribes and scholastics had spoken. The certainty of scientific conclusions became the envy of all workers in all other departments of thought.

Historical research during the same period became possessed of new instruments and methods of investigation which gave it corresponding increase of power. It became almost as authoritative as the descriptive sciences themselves, and its conclusions brought reconstruction of thought wherever it carried its investigations. No field was too sacred for its probing, no territory was fenced off from its scrutiny. The Old and then the New Testament received a most searching and unrestrained examination. No facts, no faiths, no dogma remained apart unsifted, untested, uncriticized. The entire basis and structure of religious faith were affected. The authority of tradition vanished. The habit of constructing theological doctrines out of selected proof-texts became as antiquated in educated circles as the Ptolemaic system of astronomy. The universe which had already been discovered to be infinite in space was now seen to be extended into infinite time, and the old ideas about human origins and man's relation to other forms of life were completely changed. In fact, nothing was left unshaken. At first the irresistible sweep of scientific reconstruction seemed to threaten all inherited faiths with bankruptcy. The Deists looked like pigmy foes to Christianity compared with the merciless "naturalists" of the mid-Victorian period. It was a most urgent

question whether these issues could be successfully met and whether a stable basis could be found for religious faith and for an unweakened and progressive Christianity.

The Society of Friends held a position which made its leaders peculiarly able to meet this intellectual crisis successfully and constructively, though, as we have often seen in these chapters, it was a position always in danger of becoming crystallized and so sterile. Friends in theory had always maintained that the seat and centre of religion was in the human soul. Man, they insisted, was religious primarily, not because extraordinary events had happened in a remote past, but because his deepest inner life is unsundered from God, and therefore he is essentially more than a finite being. While old systems, built on tradition, were being shaken and all doctrines resting on scribal or scholastic authority were being threatened, Friends could rest with confidence upon a religious basis that was always open to verification and demonstration. They did not need to alter their fundamental point of view in order to accept the implications of the modern method of scientific research. They could fall back upon the *facts of experience* and rest their case on the testimony of man's real nature as an ethical and spiritual being. This course in the main the intellectual leaders of the Society in Great Britain took in this critical modern period.

The first notable expression of this modern position in Quaker circles, though by no means the beginning of the attitude, was a little volume of "Essays for the Times," entitled *A Reasonable Faith*, by "Three Friends." It was published in 1884, the three unnamed Friends being William Edward Turner, Francis Frith and William Pollard. This little volume, which was destined to produce a brief but violent storm, was inspired by the eager desire on the part of the writers of it to interpret Christianity so that it would make its legitimate appeal to the serious, honest but bewildered seekers after truth who were at that time in revolt against what this book called popular evangelicalism and scholastic dogmatism. The

three writers were men of profound spiritual experience, and they were convinced that the agnostic tendency of their time was primarily due to a reaction from an ultra-dogmatic theology, more or less foreign to the fundamental nature of real Christianity—"inherited," as they put it, "from the comparative darkness of the Middle Ages rather than from apostolic times."[1] They proposed, therefore, to interpret Christianity not as a theological system but as a way of life and to substitute experimental religion for dogma. Much of what they said in these Essays a generation ago sounds obvious and familiar to us now. It produces no thrill of emotion in the present-day reader, but it was "advanced and dangerous" thought to many who read it when the book was new. "Progressive revelation" was a keynote phrase of the book. It is a fundamental idea of the writers that God is essentially self-revealing and man is, by his deepest nature, capable of having a revelation made through himself. "God manifest in the flesh is a central truth of religion."[2] The revelation of God as divine Father is tenderly and vividly set forth, while the revelation of God through Christ is impressively expounded—"We see in Christ as much of God as *can* be manifest in a human life."[3]

The chapters which provoked the most intense comment were those which reinterpreted the atonement and the basis and character of revelation. The writers ventured to tell first what the atonement "is not" and then to expound what "its true meaning" really is. It was all done reverently and with much insight, but the negative part was bound to give offence and the positive interpretation was sure to sound to many like heresy. The treatment of inspiration and revelation was admirable and quite in accord with the historical position of early Friends. "We have access," they say, "to the same Spirit which inspired the sacred writers."[4] At the same

[1] *A Reasonable Faith* (London, 1884), p. 13.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 35.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 31.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 97. William Pollard afterwards published a book entitled *Old-Fashioned Quakerism* (Am. ed. 1889) in which he endeavoured to show how fully the primitive basis of Quakerism was suited to meet the conditions of modern thought.

time their position was modern and strongly showed the effect of the newer critical attitude of the age. They held that the foundation of the faith is for ever sure, because religion rests upon the direct evidence of experience—the real presence of God in the hearts of men. Knowing in his own soul the spiritual source of Truth, a thoughtful person has no fear lest the most remarkable and unique Revelation—that in the Bible—will lose its power and influence over the race. But these writers insist that the time has come for a fresh and vital conception of inspiration in place of the traditional one. Instead of being the one and only Revelation, the Bible is "a record of a long series of revelations"; it is unique only in degree; it cannot be treated as infallible. They held that God does not fix His Word in one rigid, static form, but unfolds His truth progressively as the growing human race is ready for it. From its Alpha to its Omega religion is, and must be, "in harmony with sound reason and common sense," and it is for ever grounded in the ultimate nature of God as loving Father and of man as potential son.

Both *The* (London) *Friend* and *The British Friend* gave the little volume of essays appreciative reviews, though the former prophesied that there will be a class of readers who will be "startled at some of the statements they find therein."[1] *The British Friend* hailed the book with joy and was throughout the controversy a champion of its message.

"A reasonable faith!" the reviewer writes. "Can there be any true faith that is not reasonable? We want a new head under which to classify the mental attitude which clings to forumlas of which neither experience nor reason nor imagination can give any clear account, which is proudly independent of common sense, which dwells not in 'the habitable parts of the earth,' but in some barren sphere where law is not, whence science and intellect are banished, and where unreality, tradition, and dogma reign supreme."

The reviewer gave a friendly summary of the interpretation and made this comment:

[1] *The Friend* (New Series), vol. xxiv. p. 303.

The authors of the essays evidently believe with Erskine of Linlathen, and very many writers and thinkers of the present day, that the great object of the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ, of His life and of His death, was to reveal and manifest the Father, to declare God's Fatherhood and man's brotherhood.[1]

During the following year (1885) these two periodicals were almost continuously flooded with articles for and against the position taken in *A Reasonable Faith.* The book was extensively answered, and the "ancient faith" was again and again defended. The first effect of the controversy was to provoke an emphatic restatement of the evangelical position and to rally to battle the defenders of that form of Christianity. The Yearly Meeting of 1885 was the occasion of a strong testimony against the book of the "three Friends," and for the greater part of a day speeches were made and addresses were given expounding afresh the old, approved "way." A call was made for the preparation of a document which would refute the dangerous book and restate to the world the doctrine of the atonement in Scriptural terms.

The authors, however, and their friends finally got their turn to speak, and they used the opportunity to profit. William Pollard gave a luminous reply, and he convincingly explained why the volume of essays had been written and what it aimed to accomplish for its readers. "It was written to reach the wanderers and the doubting and those who were ready to despair, many of whom had lost their way through hearing harsh and narrow statements made in our public meetings."[2] The calm, restrained statements of the three Friends, their declaration of purpose, their own spiritual experience, and their success in making the essential truths of Christianity appeal to the thoughtful persons in the Society carried much weight, both in Yearly Meeting and outside of it. For many years, of course, there continued to be two sharply differentiated types of thought in the Society, but from this period onward the position, in a general way, as interpreted in *A Reasonable*

[1] *The British Friend*, vol. xlii. p. 299.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. xliii. p. 129.

Faith, steadily gained ground and satisfied an ever-increasing proportion of the membership, and gradually this position received more adequate interpretation than the "three Friends" had given it.

The decade succeeding the appearance of these essays was an important time of slow readjustment. Each Yearly Meeting held in London revealed new aspects of the central problems of the time, and these questions were faced with considerable breadth of view and often with insight at the sessions devoted to "consideration of the state of Society." Each year marked an increase of interest in social questions, and one can note in the Yearly Meeting Proceedings and in the periodicals a constant growth of desire on the part of Friends to take their full share in the work of social and intellectual reconstruction. The three leading periodicals of the Society—*The Friend*, *The British Friend*, and *The Friends' Quarterly Examiner*—contributed very materially to the development of insight, judgment, and comprehensive breadth of view.

One of the most important events in the history of English Quakerism during the period now under consideration was the convincement of Caroline E. Stephen (1835–1909) to its faith. The influence of her exposition of its central ideals and practices was very great both within and beyond the Society. She was the daughter of Sir James Stephen (1789–1859), a man of remarkable endowments and of intense religious experience. "My father's thoughts," Caroline wrote of him, "were ever dwelling on the unseen and eternal realities." "To have been my father's child was like having been brought up in a cathedral."[1] Under the powerful influence of the naturalistic movement, dominant in the circles in which she moved, and one of the leaders of which was her brother, Sir Leslie Stephen, Caroline became more or less forced intellectually to take an agnostic position. She grew dissatisfied with the services of the religion in which she had grown up. New occasions had brought

[1] *The First Sir James Stephen* (London, 1906), by his daughter Caroline E. Stephen, pp. 291 and 296.

new problems, and the old faiths and forms did not meet her personal spiritual needs, nor speak to her condition. In the midst of her perplexities and real "dismay," she unexpectedly found in a Friends' meeting what she was seeking. Her own account of the experience is admirable.

On one never-to-be-forgotten Sunday morning I found myself one of a small company of silent worshippers who were content to sit down together without words, that each one might feel after and draw near to the Divine Presence, unhindered at least, if not helped, by any human utterance. Utterance I knew was free, should the words be given; and before the meeting was over, a sentence or two were uttered in great simplicity by an old and apparently untaught man, rising in his place amongst the rest of us. I did not pay much attention to the words he spoke, and I have no recollection of their purport. My whole soul was filled with the unutterable peace of the undisturbed opportunity for communion with God, with the sense that at last I had found a place where I might, without the faintest suspicion of insincerity, join with others in simply seeking His presence. To sit down in silence could at least pledge me to nothing; it might open to me (as it did that morning) the very gate of heaven. And since that day Friends' meetings have indeed been to me the greatest of outward helps to a fuller and fuller entrance into the spirit from which they have sprung; the place of the most soul-subduing, faith-restoring, strengthening and peaceful communion, in feeding upon the bread of life, that I have ever known.[1]

In her chapter on "Worship" she has commented still further on "the indescribable relief" which came to her troubled and harassed mind through the way of silence. She says:

What I felt I wanted in a place of worship was a refuge, or at least the opening of a doorway towards the refuge, from doubts and controversies; not a fresh encounter with them. Yet it seems to me impossible that any one harassed by the conflicting views of truth, with which just now the air is thick, should be able to forget controversy while listening to such language as that of the Book of Common Prayer. It seems to me that nothing but silence can heal the wounds made by disputations in the region of the unseen. No external help, at any rate, has ever in my own

[1] *Quaker Strongholds* (4th ed., London, 1907), p. 3.

experience proved so penetratingly efficacious as the habit of joining in a public worship based on silence. Its primary attraction for me was in the fact that it pledged me to nothing, and left me altogether undisturbed to seek for help in my own way. But before long I began to be aware that the united and prolonged silences had a far more direct and powerful effect than this. They soon began to exercise a strangely subduing and softening effect upon my mind. There used, after a while, to come upon me a deep sense of awe as we sat together and waited—for what? In my heart of hearts I knew in Whose Name we were met together, and Who was truly in the midst of us. Never before had His influence revealed itself to me with so much power as in those quiet assemblies.[1]

Caroline Stephen, with her fresh experiences, soon became the foremost interpreter in the Society in England of Friends' way of worship and of the type of religion which they were endeavouring to maintain and express. She fortunately cared little for the traditions of Quakerism; she held many of the accumulated forms lightly, and yet she was gifted to penetrate to the heart and living secret of the faith which she had accepted. She belonged by bent and by experience to the order of the mystics. She had seen truth at first hand, had received a direct revelation, and, according to her own testimony, she had been able to "sink into the innermost depth of her being" and "become aware of things which are unseen and eternal."[2] She was, furthermore, a woman of broad culture, of rare insight, of beautiful personality, possessed of a graceful literary style, and thus she was able to do a work of interpretation which few Friends of the time could hope to accomplish. Her two most important contributions are *Quaker Strongholds*, first published in 1891, and *Light Arising*, published in 1908. She wrote besides many articles for Friends' periodicals, and she exerted a great influence upon the Quaker students who studied at Cambridge during the period of her membership in the meeting there. "We owe her," one of these students writes, "more than we can ever put in words, a

[1] *Quaker Strongholds*, pp. 44, 45.

[2] See her Essay "Living Alone" in the volume *Light Arising* (London, 1908).

debt that can never be paid."[1] What she did more clearly and emphatically than any one else at that time was to call the attention of Friends to the richness of their own inheritance, and to help them to see and realize the immense inner possibilities of their faith. She interpreted worship better than any other modern Quaker writer had done; she raised silence to a new significance, and she gave "spiritual radiance" a fresh and living meaning. "Radiance" is her favourite word. It appears in everything she wrote. It was a trait in the character both of her father and her mother, and she calls every one to an experience of "the central glow of Light and Love," when the innermost depth is expressed no longer in words but by "a living radiance." She underestimated, as mystics are apt to do, the importance of co-operation and the value of organization. She was too strongly individualistic and too exclusively concerned with *inward* states, but in spite of these dispositional tendencies she rendered a remarkable service to the Society of Friends and she turned the attention of many serious seekers to the Friends as a religious body and to their way of life and worship.

The Yearly Meeting of 1893 marked a memorable forward step in the spiritual development of English Quakerism. It was attended by Dr. Richard H. Thomas of Baltimore, Maryland, who had already exerted a strong influence upon many young Friends through his fresh constructive message. His broad and penetrating interpretation of Christianity, his determination to join faith and knowledge together, and his beautiful spirit made him a real leader and a safe guide for perplexed young Friends. This Yearly Meeting was further memorable as marking the beginning of the public activity of John Wilhelm Rowntree, who had himself been a perplexed young Friend and who was just then emerging from his intellectual perplexities, his voyage of discovery, and was coming out into the light of great spiritual experience. He had seriously meditated leaving the Society, and this

[1] *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, vol. xliii. p. 485.

year was the turning-point in his life.[1] He was determined henceforth to have done with unreality in religion and to "go beneath the crust of words and almost of thoughts to the living springs of actual living experience."[2] Speaking in Yearly Meeting in May of that year he frankly told Friends that much that was said in the way of ministry in meetings for worship did not reach the youth of his generation. It simply passed them by and did not strike home. He called for religious messages expressed in "their own language," *i.e.* in the terms in which they were thinking and speaking. He reminded his listeners that young Friends of his time were faced with intellectual difficulties and were passing through doubts, but he pleaded for patience and sympathy and an understanding mind on the part of older Friends, expressing the firm hope that an awakening and a deeper life of faith were at hand.[3] Silvanus P. Thompson, with very clear insight and with great boldness, pointed out what profound changes in thought were under way, at the same time indicating how religious interpretations must alter.[4] The discussion went forward with frankness and restraint and did much to prepare the way for the comprehensive treatment of the issues in successive years.

In 1894 the Yearly Meeting was deeply stirred over the problem of correspondence with American Yearly Meetings, and there were sharp differences of opinion, but as soon as the meeting came back to the consideration of its own spiritual condition and outlook it became clear that a real advance was going steadily on. Friends showed a determined purpose to understand the movements of their time and to speak to their age with a clear, vital message.

The next important event in the order of development, for its bearing on the readjustment of the Society to the conditions of the time, was the holding of the Manchester Conference in 1895. A conference of the general scope of the one held at Manchester was first suggested by the

[1] Introduction to *Essays and Addresses*, p. xiii.
[2] *Ibid.* p. xiii.
[3] *The British Friend* (1893), p. 149.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 150 A.

Home Mission Committee at its meeting in February 1895. The minute adopted at that time gives a clear account of the underlying purpose of the conference. It was as follows:

We have had laid before us in an interesting way the comparative ignorance and misconception which exist around us as to the Society of Friends, and the importance of concerted action in the endeavour to dissipate the mistaken views to some extent current. *The absolute need of the Society making use of all legitimate modern methods for making known our distinguishing views, and bringing ourselves as a Christian Church into contact with people—embracing in this thought not only the poorer classes of the community, but also the more cultured and educated portion of society*—has also been enforced.

The needs of the thoughtful and educated young people of our own Society have been adverted to, as well as of those who are disposed to think that they obtain more religious help in other Societies than our own. It has been suggested that the whole subject is one which the ensuing Yearly Meeting might properly be asked to entertain. We conclude to submit to the Yearly Meeting that an opportunity should be afforded for the discussion of the important matters opened up by the considerations adverted to.

If the outcome of such a consideration should be the appointment of a special Conference for further discussion, the Home Mission Committee might be a convenient body to whom the needful arrangements should be committed. We think the consideration of the subject in the Yearly Meeting might suitably take place in a Joint Conference.[1]

The proposition of the Home Mission Committee received the sympathy and approval of the Yearly Meeting, and the committee proposing it was authorized to go forward and arrange for the holding of it. The conference accordingly met in Manchester the 11th November 1895. Almost every aspect of the inner life of the Society and of its constructive work in the world was dealt with, and, on the whole, handled in a statesmanlike manner. All types of Quaker position and attitude were represented in the conference, but the predominant feature of the

[1] This minute is printed in the *Proceedings of the Manchester Conference* (London, 1896), pp. 11, 12.

gathering was a spirit of determination that Friends should be ready for the hour and should take their place in the work of the world. Among the leading prophetic spirits of the conference was John Wilhelm Rowntree, then a young man of twenty-seven. His answer to the question, "Has Quakerism a Message to the World to-day?" was one of the most inspiring events of the conference. Briefly he stated the change in religious thought:

As the Middle Ages learnt the place of the earth in the universe, so we are learning the truth about man, his slow development, his physical affinities with all other forms of life. We, too, have to reconstruct our cosmogony. And in this reconstruction, the timidity of the Church, the irreconcilable attitude of certain among our scientists, and the revulsion from the iron hardness of terrible and fatalistic creeds, have led to some present confusion.

There are, it is true, many whom nothing has yet troubled, and over whom, no doubt, the Church maintains her hold. But, nevertheless, where in any place the Church has failed to grasp the changed conditions, she suffers continued defections, and ceases to appeal to an ever-increasing number outside her borders. Many Churches are enfeebled, many individuals find themselves forced to exchange wholesome centres of activity for the misery of spiritual loneliness, and must drift to extremes of negation or seek relief in isolated service.

God's secrets are often swiftly unveiled. But though the revelation may be sudden, our readjustment is slow. Confusion, nevertheless, is not for ever. One moment the Bible seems taken from us, the next it is restored, more living than before and with a new light upon its page.

The clouds of controversy gather at each great discovery of science, and seem to hide the Christ; but, lo! the clouds disperse, and the Divine figure stands out in renewed splendour.

Even as now so at the Renaissance came perplexity and scepticism. But it was of the new learning, with its larger views of God and the universe, that the Reformation was born. So do I unfalteringly believe will there spring out of the present seeming chaos a renewed and more powerful faith, deeper in its basis, clearer in its vision, broader in its charity, than ever was the old; *and as warm in its love.*

This illumined young leader dealt with the new social

ideals and with the expansion of life needed to meet the new demands. He called for a fresh conception of responsibility and for a definite preparation for the application of Christianity to meet the social needs of the present world. Having clearly and powerfully drawn the outlines of the need, the task and the mission, he closed with this inspired message and prophetic vision:

Let us face the facts with confidence and courage.

If the age of the faith which comes by tradition and authority is gone, and men can no longer believe without knowing why they believe; if they are expanding those partial views of the truth that were inevitable in earlier times, then such a change will bring, as its ultimate result, not weakness but new strength.

At the root of this great movement is the longing for reality, for a more real and human touch of God. We must not—we dare not—continue in a spirit of timid conservatism. We must understand sympathetically if we would convince and lead.

Those who, having the ability, refuse to acquaint themselves with the modern development of thought sadly limit the scope of their service. That faith alone will satisfy which, triumphant and aggressive, fights no longer with "bows and arrows, but arms her with the weapons of the time."

In the early days faith and science were one. What we wait for now is a religion that shall once more appeal to the whole complex nature of man.

Much earnest Christianity to-day fails to command the intellect and establish its own authority beyond all doubt and criticism. Yet a religion merely intellectual will never warm the heart with the fire of self-sacrificing love. Let us in our message offer that which is beyond all creeds—the evidence in our lives of communion with the spirit of God. The need of positive animating faith in the inward presence of His spirit was never greater than now. All who earnestly seek truth could unite with us in fellowship on the broad platform of faith in that indwelling guidance.

The Church exists to create for each succeeding generation the ideal of the Christ in the thought-form of the age, and in the adaptability of Christ's teaching lies one secret of its power.

Friends are not bound by a heritage of creeds, and need not break with their great past to put themselves in touch with the present.

Is there perplexity and change in the religious thought?

Then God grant to our Church the spirit of understanding which shall give her the eye of a seer, the voice of a prophet, the place and power of a leader.

Is there indifference to the Higher Life?

Then, O Christ, convince us by Thy Spirit, thrill us with Thy Divine passion, drown our selfishness in Thy invading love, lay on us the burden of the world's suffering, drive us forth with the apostolic fervour of the early Church! So only can our message be delivered:—"Speak to the Children of Israel, that they go forward."[1]

Two other constructive speakers, now no longer among our workers here below, but surely in the triumphant fellowship with God, were Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, the historian, and Dr. Silvanus P. Thompson, the scientist. The former closed a valuable address with these words:

One word in conclusion as to the attitude of Quakerism toward this phase of modern thought. It does so happen that we can bring a special contribution toward the solution of this problem. Two centuries ago, before a single scientific difficulty had been discovered in the Scriptures, the early preachers of Quakerism protested against that unwise and untrue mode of speaking about the Bible which has caused all the difficulty. George Fox was a man who had studied the Bible from cover to cover. It formed practically his sole education. He was filled with reverence for its teaching, and was willing to spend long years in noisome dungeons rather than violate that which the Bible taught him was the command of Christ. Yet for all this he steadily refused, and his consistent followers have to this day refused, to call that precious book *The Word of God.* I must believe that he was divinely taught and guided to see the dangerous consequences to faith which would flow from that mistaken title. Now we can say to the scientific student who is not seeking opportunities for cavil, but genuinely desirous to give to faith the things which are faith's and to reason the things which are reason's, "It is no device invented yesterday to escape from the logical consequences of these new discoveries, it is a conclusion to which our forefathers were led by the Spirit of Christ Himself, that we need not ask you to accept the Hebrew chronology or the Hebrew cosmogony as a necessary part of an all-rounded and infallible Word of God. Take the book and read it patiently and reverently, and you will find many precious

[1] *Proc. Manchester Conference,* pp. 75-83.

messages of God to your soul. But that which was spoken unscientifically in the childhood of the world by the unscientific Hebrew sage is no essential part of Christ's message to the world to-day."[1]

Silvanus P. Thompson spoke many wise and guiding words which were adapted to the intellectual climate of the period. I give two short passages from his address on the question, "Can a Scientific Man be a Sincere Friend?":

We have no right to neglect our intellects any more than we have to neglect our bodies. We have no right to starve the one or the other, or to cripple any faculty or limb by persistently refusing to use it. We do not persistently refuse to use our eyes for fear they should show us something we had forgotten, or that our forefathers had incorrectly observed. Neither are we justified in refusing to think for fear that thought logically followed out might change opinions that we or our fathers have cherished. The faculty of reason, the noblest possession of a man's physical being, that which distinguishes him from the brute, is a faculty not only to be prized, trained, and used, but to be trusted and followed. He who neglects his intellectual powers, or refuses to be guided by them in the discovery of truth, is not only an intellectual coward, he is defying the purposes of the Almighty, just as truly as if he were deliberately to starve himself or to put out his own eyes. The heart cannot say to the head, I have no need of thee: else that would dishonour Him who created both.

Here, then, in the stress of modern problems, the true Friend may go forward, finding scope for his faculties, not fearing amid evil report and good report to use them. Man of science he may be, if such be his bent of mind and his training; and man of science none the less sincerely because he is a true Friend. For what is a Friend but one who, illuminated by the quickening Spirit, has learned to cast off the incrustations which ignorance and intellectual pride or intellectual folly have during the centuries built up around the simple code of Christ's teaching? Back to Christ's teaching was the essence of the Quaker reformation of the seventeenth century.[2]

The effect of this conference upon the attitude and outlook of the Society of Friends was far greater than any person realized at the time when the conference was

[1] *Proc. Manchester Conference*, pp. 362-368. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 227-239.

being held, and greater, too, than one would expect who at this distance reads the *Proceedings* at their face value. It was a psychological moment, and the spiritual resultant was greater than the sum of the antecedents. The issue of the hour was squarely faced and the Society, in effect, had decided to go forward. It had showed its readiness to accept the sound conclusion of scientific and historical research, and to formulate its spiritual message, and to carry out its social mission in vital correspondence with the advancing thought of the world around it. The young Friends who were being prepared in the excellent schools of the Society, and who were being educated in the universities, at once felt the liberating force of the new attitude. They saw that they could pursue their search for truth fearlessly without feeling themselves forced either to adopt a hypocritical position or to revolt from a theological scheme incompatible with their accepted scientific conclusions, having no refuge left for the soul but barren agnosticism.

From this time forward the leaders of the Society bent their energies to the task of equipping the membership for its expanding mission, and to the practical work of educating the new generation of Friends so that they might share in the best thought of the period. Summer Schools for religious and social study proved to be the most effective instrument for this end. The first school of this type was organized in the spring, and held at Scarborough in the summer of 1897. The teaching was distinctly on the modern lines, facing frankly and boldly the central questions of the day. At first many, like the disciples, confronted by these unexpected situations, were "amazed and afraid." But the net result was enlightening and formative. Once more Friends had come up to a momentous cross-road and had taken the path which opened into an expanding future. Summer Schools were soon adapted to local communities, and long period "settlements" were held so that gradually every section of the Society in England had an opportunity to imbibe the thought of the time and the newer social ideals, while

at the same time a spirit of fellowship was born which was no less transforming in its subtle influence than was the acquisition of fresh ideas and ideals.

As an outcome of this powerful religious, intellectual, social, fellowship movement a permanent institution or "settlement" for religious and social study was founded at Woodbrooke, near Birmingham, in 1903. This has proved to be a step of decided importance, and the possibilities of its future influence are great.

Other forces, not labelled or tabulated here, have operated silently to produce the vast changes which mark the years from 1850 to 1900. Prophetic leaders, gifted interpreters of thought, inspiring personalities there have been. Otherwise everything would have been different. Patience, restraint, sincerity, devotion, charity, and withal love which suffers long and is kind, have characterized those who have guided the growing work. Gradually enlightened Friends have seen the deeper meaning of the evangelical truth and message of life which in its narrow formulation seemed hopelessly inadequate for the soul. Both wings of the Society have drawn toward the centre, and without real surrender have vitally gathered round a common truth, and have learned to live for a common end. In this formative and constructive work there was a fine co-operation of leadership, and there was, too, a union of many intellectual and spiritual forces. As in all impressive expressions of religious faith and consciousness, so here many persons were merged and fused together in one common undertaking which no single person could have accomplished alone. But while that is profoundly true, one person nevertheless stood out clearly as the leader of the forward group. This was John Wilhelm Rowntree of Yorkshire. His experience of passing through a wilderness period of doubt and agnosticism helped him to understand the internal struggles of those to whom he later ministered with freshness and power. The outstanding feature of his personality was his passion for *reality*, his determination to have done with everything dogmatic and perfunctory, and to exhibit

a religion of life, of growth, and of vital expansion. It could be said of him, as Francis Howgill said of Edward Burrough, that "his very strength was bended after God." He had been awakened, "as a man is awakened out of his sleep," and his eyes had seen a vision of the meaning of life as it becomes when Christ is the centre of it. He spoke what he *knew*. "The piercéd hands," he declared, "have reached through to me!" and in the power of his experience he showed the joyous quality of the radiant life.

The period of his human leadership was short—from 1895 to 1905—but it was of new and unusual power, and its influence is beyond calculation. It had that rare trait, so striking in Fox, in Howgill, and Burrough, of producing a contagion of faith, of conviction, of expectation, and of consecration. Before his brief period of service closed he had lent himself out, had kindled a host of others, had awakened them so that they, too, caught a similar vision to his own, and when he passed from us his life went on uninterruptedly working toward the ends and purposes for which he lived so intensely—"That friend of *ours* who lives in God."[1]

[1] Two volumes of his literary remains have been published: *Essays and Addresses* (containing short Biographical Sketch), London, 1906, and *Palestine Notes and Other Papers*, London, 1906. A shorter volume of papers selected from *Essays and Addresses* was published in 1917 under the title, *Man's Relation to God*.

CHAPTER XXV

REVIEW AND FORECAST

Fling wide the sail, dig deep the oar,
To sea! to sea! The calm is o'er.[1]

QUAKERISM, as has often been said, is one of the numerous attempts in history to revive primitive, apostolic Christianity. The distinct forerunners of it were the Christian mystics and the spiritual reformers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They, too, endeavoured to revive the experience and power of new-born Christianity—the Christianity of the "upper room." They loosened their hold on systems and external authorities, and restored to a place of first importance the seeing eye, the hearing ear, the acutely sensitive soul of the individual Christian. More important for them than any event of the past was the present experience of the Day-dawn within, and the consciousness that the Day-star had risen in their own souls. Their individualism, their lack of organizing leaders, and their reliance on the uncharted and unpredictable wind of the Spirit, blowing as it listed, kept the earlier movement fluid and prevented it from becoming unified and integrated into a "church." George Fox, on the other hand, was a constructive leader, and he succeeded in bringing together into one loosely-knit Society men and women who had been "Seekers," "Anabaptists," "Familists," "Behmenites," or members of some others of the hundred and ninety-nine varieties of "sects and schisms" described in Edwards' *Gangraena*. We have seen in earlier volumes of this series how strong

[1] T. L. Beddoes in "The Fool's Tragedy," *Poetical Works* (London, 1890), vol. ii. p. 14.

was the mystical tendency in the early period of the Society, and this volume has brought into clear light the continuation of that underlying tendency through the eighteenth century, with the addition of a pervasive Quietism which affected every aspect of thought and life.

The most striking historical transformation of the Society which this volume reveals is the change wrought by the assimilation and appropriation of evangelical theology. The fusion of the types of religion for a time escaped notice. Job Scott, the last great Quaker exponent, until recent times, of the type of Christianity held by the founders of Quakerism, was not suspected of being "unsound" until after his death, while David Sands and the other evangelicals were for a long period not thought of as innovators. Gradually, however, the lines of cleavage became sharper, and there followed a half century of tragic divisions, and another half century of intense theological discussion, as the periodical literature of the Society indicates. It is impossible for the historian now to pick out one "branch" among the many divisional offshoots from the parent stock, and to call that "branch" the true successor to the founders. The mark of apostolic succession, here as always, is to be found, not in uniformity of garb and manners, not in conservation of an identical conception, not in the maintenance of an unbroken tradition, but in the vital preservation of the spirit, the insight, the experience, the power, and the dynamic quality of the predecessors. The law courts, busy with claims to title, have one way of answering the question of succession; the student of spiritual movements has a very different way of answering it. Each "branch" carried over some precious gains from the ancient inheritance, but each one suffered from the narrowing effects of controversy and re-established itself, after the divisions, much reduced and seriously shrunken.

> We multiply distinctions, then
> Deem that our puny boundaries are things
> That we perceive, and not that we have made.[1]

[1] Wordsworth's "Prelude," Book ii.

The part is never equal to the whole, and, in these matters, the sum of the parts is not equal to the whole. The only way of recovery is through a return to the sources of life, through a renewal of love, through a renascence of the broad inclusive spirit.

The new social attitude, the passion for relieving human suffering, which were strongly manifested through representative Friends in the early years of the nineteenth century, were destined in time to work important changes, to draw the "branches" gradually together for service, and to carry them down to the deeper unifying sources of life and power. The deep interest in education, which has been a striking feature of Quakerism during the past hundred years, and the creation of educational centres in all regions where Friends were numerous have been determining factors and influences in shaping the development of Quaker thought and ideals. A hundred years ago most Friends were isolated from the currents of thought around them. They lived an insular life, withdrawn from contact with the world, hedged about and guarded. They were timid and cautious. They read their own books, read only their own interpretation of Christianity, eliminated aesthetic pursuits, tabooed social diversions, and cultivated a puritanic piety. At first their educational ideals were narrow and sectarian. They aimed to create centres for the "guarded education" of their own children, but gradually the aim widened, the methods improved, personal leadership developed, and the Quaker institutions became standard and among the best available. The influence reacted upon the membership and worked a far-reaching effect upon the aims and ideals of the Society itself.

No less transforming has been the result of Quaker missionary activity. At first it was regarded with strong disfavour on the part of the conservative wing of the Society. It ran across the accepted theory of individual initiative and guidance. Organization for spiritual undertakings seemed to discount the call of God to the individual. There was believed to be grave danger that

the work would be done in "human wisdom," and so would be "creaturely activity," instead of spirit-directed service. The successes, however, of the early missionary attempts, the marked way in which the blessing of God attended the work, the manifest spirit of Christ in the labourers and in the home committees silently wrought a change in the attitude of the cautious and fearful members. Action, according to a fundamental law of nature, produced a corresponding reaction. Great as was the effect in the missionary lands, there was an even greater effect on the meetings at home. Sacrifice and self-giving, as usual, brought richness and power to those who made the sacrifice and the renunciation. The losses were in every case gains. It seems clear, to one reviewing the last half-century, that missionary effort has contributed at least as much toward the recovery of spiritual power and leadership as has any one influence at work within the Society.

Friends of the Hicksite "branch" have not engaged in foreign missionary work, but they have taken up a variety of philanthropic activities, and have found in these outreaching endeavours an awakened religious consciousness and a positive cohesive force. They have experienced far-reaching changes of view and outlook under the influence of modern thought, finding it easier than for most protestant denominations to accept and make valuable use of the constructive discoveries in the fields of science and history. Time has once more altered the issues. The occasion for their original protests has gone by. Only those who keep insulated from the currents of the age can go on using the phrases and terminology of 1827. These theological issues are as much a thing of the past as are the political issues of those times. The centre of religious faith is now seen to be, not in some abstract definition which men have constructed, but in the loyalty of the soul to that divine Kingdom which Christ inaugurated. The Hicksite Friends in their devotion to human service, and in their awakened zeal for a fuller knowledge of the nature of God as revealed in Christ have indicated where their loyalty lies. Their union

with all other Friends in the work of relief and reconstruction, carried on under The American Friends' Service Committee, has drawn them into closer fellowship with the other bodies, and has marked a real step forward toward a unifying way of life and action.[1]

The small bodies of Friends in America, known variously by the name, "Conservative," "Primitive," or "Wilburite," have had too few members and have been too isolated both from other bodies of Friends and from all Christian denominations to make any very significant contribution to the spiritual work of the world. There are less than four thousand of them and they are very widely scattered.[2] They have, however, all through their period of separate existence maintained a commendable solidity of character and a great depth of conviction, and they have in recent times shown a vitality and co-operative spirit which may lead to much in the future.

The most promising sign on the horizon is the return of fellowship and co-operation on the part of all Friends of all bodies. It began in feeble and slender acts and attitudes of relationship. Sympathy and understanding resulted, and were followed by fresh efforts at co-operation. It has come to be seen that one can have real fellowship without either surrendering one's own convictions or adopting the practices of those with whom the co-operation is exercised. The loss of fellowship was due in the main to the mistaken sense of infallibility; the hardness of heart that generally goes with the

[1] There are at the present time seven Yearly Meetings of this "branch," with a total membership of a little over 18,000 persons, of whom 10,770 belong to Philadelphia Y. M.

[2] Allen C. Thomas gives their statistics as follows:

Canada, including New York (estimated)	346
Iowa	961
Kansas	276
New England	120
North Carolina	400
Ohio	1268
Pennsylvania	45
Western (Indiana)	232
Total	3648

See *A History of Friends in America* (Phila. Ed. of 1919), p. 255.

possession of what is believed to be infallible truth; failure to understand the position of other people; and absence of sympathy and love which almost always goes with lack of understanding. The gradual recovery of inclusive interests, co-operative fellowship and the sympathetic mind have already had similar effects to those produced by the return of the sun after the winter solstice. There is much more to follow which will concern later history, but it is enough now to record that the *turning* has been made and that the period of chilly isolation is over and past. The lines of separation between "branches" of Friends are steadily yielding to the new spirit that is at work in the world. There are some persons in all "divisions" who dwell upon the past, who use the ancient "labels" and who assume that the terms which seemed so momentous in 1827 and in 1845 are still momentous, but the large majority of Friends, and especially the young Friends, who have not been nurtured on controversy, care very little for the old issues. Vital matters, human problems, practical applications dominate the thought and occupy the foreground of consciousness. Nothing can stop the normal natural processes working toward fellowship and unity. Uniformity is, no doubt, far away, but co-operation and a spirit of unity are already here, and they will produce their legitimate effects.

The greatly increased interest in social problems which appears unmistakably in the activities and attitudes both of English and American Friends is full of significance. It is no artificial movement contrived and maintained by a few. It has had its birth in deep convictions. It springs out of a central religious faith, and it possesses the hearts and lives of very large numbers of modern Friends. It has its spring in a fresh rediscovery of the infinite worth of human personality and in the desire to liberate and lift into freer conditions of life all who are hampered and restricted by methods, forms and customs inherited from the past and unfavourable to the fuller development of man. Once more, as at the origin of the

Society, the name *Friends* is felt, by those who bear it, to have a literal meaning. It is not to be merely the name of a sect; it is to be a fellowship of those who share the burdens of human suffering and who rejoice to be fellow-labourers with God in the task of making a world as it ought to be. It is too soon to predict concrete results, but it is an important fact that the spirit of human love which was so strong in Elizabeth Fry and William Allen, in John Woolman and John Greenleaf Whittier, is working powerfully to-day in large, awakened groups of Friends who are adding to their *faith* clear, intelligent, scientific *knowledge* of the way in which human problems can be effectively solved.

How far this profound human interest will affect the distinctly religious aspect of Quakerism is a problem which can only be answered later in the light of historical development. It is difficult to enter deeply into the work of social betterment without finding oneself carried along into all the complicated questions growing out of the existing social order and the present economic basis. There is a subtle human tendency, as old as history, to endeavour to solve the fundamental problems of life and society by the discovery of some quick panacea or to glorify some abstract phrase. Just as God has too often been conceived in terms of sovereignty and justice, so, too, man has been considered under equally superficial or even artificial categories. It has taken centuries of struggle and suffering to reveal the deeper aspects of human life and to make the fact clear that we must not treat persons as things nor be satisfied with economic solutions of problems that are essentially ethical and spiritual. Friends must be on their guard not to be muddled or carried away by spurious remedies or by cries of "lo here," or "lo there." No genuine progress, it is true, can be made that does not involve economic factors. Friends in the future must no doubt be seriously, deeply concerned to discover sound economic principles and they must be ready to make way for the far-reaching changes that are essential conditions

for the better social order which is to come. But in their eagerness for social and industrial transformations they must not allow themselves to be diverted from their central mission, which should be to minister to the whole of human life. Immense results may perhaps come through the application of better social and economic principles, but even so man will still remain a being that cannot live by bread alone, nor will he be infused with a spirit of goodness by the mere fact that he has acquired more "rights." No change of economic conditions and no adjustment of the social order will, by an inherent magic, produce persons who are inwardly pure and true and good, nor can these methods alone bring a religious body to its goal. Nothing that can ever be done by the external methods of change and control will eliminate the sphere and function of religion as a way of inspiration and of life. The religious mission of the Quaker body will still remain that of spiritual and prophetic service. The best service will be to be *Friends*, friends of God and friends of men who need fellowship, insight and moral strength. They must not give an abstract theory when they are asked for real bread. They must not hand out a dry document when men are seeking for the living touch of understanding friendship. However the externals may alter, the *heart* will still be the all-important matter and the spirit revealed by personality will count for as much as ever.

Friends will need to be on guard as they go forward to take their part in this work of liberation and expansion, that they do not loosen their grip on what has been the priceless experience of their forerunners. If they should fail in their primary mission they could hardly make up for it by any other successes. No contribution which they could make toward the theoretic solution of these problems which beset our age would offset the corresponding loss that would accrue if Friends should ever cease to maintain their central religious convictions and their personal testimony to the real presence of God. In a world as tragic as ours is and laden as it is with

mysteries, the highest ministry will continue to be, in the future as in the past, *the ministry of revealing God.*

Present-day Friends cultivate this gift, this mission, far too feebly. They have, unfortunately, grown accustomed to the acceptance of substitutes for the highest spiritual service. It is much easier to adopt customs which served past generations and to interpret religion in terms of phrases, than it is to go the whole way through to the attainment of a personal experience of the life and love of God inwardly revealed. But this latter attainment is exactly what our age peculiarly needs. Thoughtful persons have grown dissatisfied with anything which depends upon external authority or traditional transmission for its standing. The only authority which holds in the scientific field is the authority which attaches directly to the convicting power of the facts themselves. No outside, adventitious authority must come in and tilt the balance for us when we are deciding upon the truth of things. We cannot admit that there are two compartments for truth—one in which we verify by the authority of facts, and the other in which we fall back upon the "authority" of tradition or of the Church or of ancient creeds. Religion must either demonstrate its power as a convincing way of coming into relation with God, or it must eventually lose its hold as a reality upon the modern world.

This prophetic mission, therefore, of revealing God as a real presence is of first importance and calls for most serious attention. It cannot be done in a casual and incidental way by persons who put other things first; it can be done impressively only by those who will not consent to substitutes and who are ready to make the uttermost self-sacrifice for the sake of the best and the highest. Dedication to this mission will be the surest test of the Quakerism of the future. We cannot take over the Quaker faith; we cannot "inherit" it ready-made from any of its earlier periods, not even from its earliest primitive period. None of the famous phrases that have meant so much to earlier leaders and which

have been the kindling watchwords for groups and branches and sections will do for our generation. We want now a Quakerism which fulfils the early promise, which gathers up the vital features of the different epochs and movements, and which will be a genuine spiritual religion for the times that now are—such times as no one could have forecast! The pioneers who launched this faith of ours, and the later exponents of it, too, had an *experience* of a rare and wonderful sort, an experience which one can still feel throbbing through their ancient words and phrases. Their lives were manifestly transformed by a spiritual energy which was working in them and through them. They were obviously dynamic persons. There is no substitute for that type of experience nor for that form of energy. No reinterpretation of message will do for us unless at the same time it springs out of great experience and is incarnated in quick and powerful personalities who *are the thing itself.*

Another distinct service which Friends by their historical preparation ought to be able to render to the Christian churches is that of leadership in promoting lay-religion. The Society of Friends was born out of the long and costly struggle to effect a return to apostolic Christianity. Its founders were determined to have done for ever with a two-level Church—hierarchy above and lay members below—and they set themselves to create a religious Society which should be absolutely democratic and which should maintain literally a priesthood of all believers—*i.e.* opportunity for spiritual service on the part of all its members. The difficulties which beset this ideal have clearly enough appeared throughout this history, but the ideal still remains an important one and quite worth further venture. Attempts which Friends have made in America to transform the historical type of free meeting by introducing a directing pastor and a set form of service have not brought a satisfactory solution of the problem of ministry and worship. The natural drift of these experiments has been in the direction of system, routine, fixity, incipient ritual, and a loss of the sense of

personal responsibility on the part of the congregation. The innovation has not produced the expected results in growth and in increase of membership, while it has been attended almost certainly by a waning of individual responsibility, an alteration of ideals in worship, and a surrender of faith in the priesthood of the entire membership. One cannot speak too sympathetically of the sacrifice which the pastors themselves have made in their work and of their spirit of devotion. The customary criticism that a paid pastor is a "hireling" is an unfair comment. They have lived simply, worked bravely, accepted hardship and limitation without complaint, and they have been faithful shepherds. The real difficulty is the fundamental one that a directed meeting, systematized under a programme, alters the entire conception of the Society of Friends and puts its central ideal in peril. It would mean, if the pastoral system were to be accepted as the final basis for the Society of Friends, that the main experiment of historical Quakerism had proved a failure and that the Society in despair of its ideal saw no alternative to a return to the ecclesiastical system from which it revolted and broke away in the seventeenth century. The issue is thus a crucial one, and marks in the most decisive fashion the parting of the ways. Friends assume that a group of men and women, meeting together, without any sensible appeal to eye or ear, can become conscious of a divine presence; can feel that this meeting-hour is more than a hyphen between a past and a future, since in some real way there has been an experience of eternity here in the midst of time. They believe that it is worth almost any struggle and sacrifice and trial of patience to preserve the opportunity, the chance for these free breathing times of the soul; these healing, refreshing hushes, when, even though the fire may not seem to fall on our prepared altar, we at least get a breath of celestial currents and have hints of realities beyond the din and noise of earth and time. So to reconstruct the type of meeting, in the interests of practical efficiency, that this central feature of worship

should be lost would be a calamity both to Friends and to the world, now seriously in need of a demonstration of the value of worshipful hushes.

Our historical review, however, makes it very clear that the Quaker experiment in lay-religion cannot be pronounced at any period a complete success, and will obviously not win the approval of those who have adopted the pastoral alternative unless some adequate methods are found for raising the general level of ministry in Friends' meetings and for maintaining the necessary pastoral care and community service of the neighbourhoods around the meetings. Meetings cannot live and grow in spiritual power without fresh messages of a convicting, illuminating, and constructing type, nor can a church do its legitimate work in the world unless it is so organized as to minister day by day to the homes within the radius of its proper pastoral care. These are all delicate and difficult achievements, which do not come about by caprice, accident, or magic. They can be attained only by deep concern, by the uttermost devotion, and by wise planning on the part of the membership. But they are possible and they should not be hastily dropped or surrendered just because they cost severely in pains and effort. It is significant that young Friends in all parts of America at the present time indicate a revived interest for the experiment in lay-religion and show a desire to make a fresh and more serious attempt to secure real community worship and congregational responsibility for ministry and service.

In England an extensive provision for summer schools and the establishment of Woodbrooke Settlement have given many members of the Society opportunities to prepare themselves for more vital and efficient ministry, both vocal and social. Non-residential settlements for social and religious study have sprung up in various places in England, and appear to mark an important step in the development of the spiritual life of the membership and meetings. The settlement is an experimental method by which a meeting can take its part in the social and

religious education and equipment of its own members and of groups of other interested persons not in membership, while at the same time those who are engaged in the work and management of the settlement can make a large, fresh, and vital contribution to the ministry and to the leadership of the local meeting where the settlement is situated. It thus enables the meeting to render an important community service and to vitalize its own worship and ministry without having an imposed direction and control.

In America interesting experiments have been made with a new type of leadership, and it is possible that something like a solution of this central problem may be found in this direction. Some meetings have employed a well-trained secretary to take the leadership, but not the direction and control, of all the activities of the congregation. The secretary is in some sense an expert in community service, either rural or urban. He can organize and lead the constructive social service which the meeting ought to be doing in its neighbourhood and at the same time he can train and find scope for the members who ought to have a part and share in such work. If he is selected, as he should be, because of his spiritual gifts and qualifications he will quicken all the activities of the meeting and he will increase the power and scope of worship and ministry in the meetings of the congregation as well as widen out and vivify the service of the congregation to its community.

Nothing can take the place of corporate responsibility and group-life. Leaders we must have, but the true leader is always a person who kindles others, helps them find themselves and guides them in well-directed lines of activity—he does not relieve them of their duties and responsibilities and tasks. There will be no great Quakerism anywhere where the group-spirit dies out or where it runs low. The inherent trouble with professional sport is that a few performers are so highly trained and specialized that they play like intricate machines, while the great army of spectators sitting on the benches are

neither doing anything toward winning the game nor contributing anything to the formation of their own skill or the building of their own physical fibre. Professionalism in religion produces a similar result. The true solution of the problem of lay-religion lies in having unprofessional leaders who, instead of doing the spiritual work of the meeting themselves, shall help all the members to discover their own powers, to find their sphere of service and to perform their tasks and their ministry with increased skill and insight and with heightened inspiration.

Friends have been too apt in the past to assume that inspiration and illumination must come, if at all, during the meeting hour. They have too often conceived of the work of the Spirit as limited to the occasion of the gathering. The result of this narrow theory of inspiration has been to discount preparation and to glorify impromptu and spontaneous speaking. That way of interpreting the influence of the Spirit has encouraged passivity, not to say mental laziness and emptiness. It has tended to reduce ministry to a single type and to predetermine that only persons who possessed certain psychical traits would be likely to speak. There is no sound basis for this position, and it may be said with considerable confidence that some form of preparation is essential for effective ministry and that the Spirit of God is not limited and confined to seasons or to localities, but is at all times as near the seeking soul as electrical energy is near to the wire that conveys it.

Hardly less important is the present-day task of interpreting God in spiritual terms to fit the needs of the age. Friends inaugurated in the seventeenth century a radical revolt from the theological systems which had been raised to a place of first importance in the reformed churches. George Fox was as strenuously opposed to the enthronement of *doctrines*, which he called "notions," as Luther had been to the exaltation of "works." These things were rejected by Friends on the ground that they belonged to the region of *theory*, *speculation*, *artificial*

construction. It seemed to them a new kind of Babel-building, an attempt to reach a distant God by cementing texts together with formal logic. They insisted upon a return to experience, and on this solid basis of experience they bore their testimony to God as revealed within the soul. They were simple, untutored men. They spoke out of what they felt, and they felt that one moment of experience can give more truth "than years of toiling reason."

In so far as they tried to expound their faith philosophically, they involved it in an inadequate and passing system of thought, and they tied it up to a bad psychology. Vast changes have been made, especially during the nineteenth century, in the way of interpreting the deepest nature of the universe and the fundamental life of man. We can use neither the metaphysics nor the psychology of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries any more than we can use their science, or their systems of transportation. But the simple direct testimony of these Friends to a God revealed to them experimentally still rings true and carries conviction now. The Light within is no abstract phrase. It is an experience of God revealed in the soul of man. What is needed at the present time is a renewal on a large scale of this first-hand, living experience of God and a vital interpretation of it in the terms of thought which are live and current in the world of our day. The primary problem in religion is not to prove that an external God "exists" and once worked miracles. The bare proof that a God "exists" yonder *in excelsis* would in itself alter nothing. We have to shape our lives by realities which are revealed here in our world and which operate upon us as positive resident forces. For us whatever "exists" at the same time "operates." We are primarily concerned, therefore, to find indubitable evidence of a Life, a Spirit, underlying, infusing, informing, unifying, overarching all that appears without or within us:

> Spirit that knows no insulated spot,
> No chasm, no solitude; from link to link
> It circulates, the Soul of all the worlds.[1]

[1] Wordsworth's "Excursion," Book ix.

We must begin surely by finding the evidence of such a presence within our own spirits, for there is no universe for us except the one which is for ever bound up with the self-conscious spirit which knows its universe through its own capacity of experience. Here within ourselves we have directly presented to us something which is not material, nor mechanical, nor space-occupying; but something living, spiritual, and creative. Eternity appears to be set in our hearts. We are always in conjunction with a More than our private self. We are linked up and united with a beyond for ever revealed within. The reality of God for us does not rest upon the necessity to find by causal regress a creator of an external world, but rather upon the necessity to explain the time-transcending and space-transcending features of our own experience, the junction of the finite and the infinite, of time and eternity, within ourselves, and upon the fact that we cannot interpret any of our supreme values of life—like beauty, truth, love, and goodness—without relating ourselves with a God in whom we live, the Life of our lives.

It would seem then that the central Quaker faith that God is immanent Spirit is still a live faith, and one which needs the continuous and successive testimony and interpretation of experience. If God is a pervasive spiritual presence, as Friends believe, and if He is the living environment of the soul of man, as truly as sunlight is the environment of the flower, then revelation naturally becomes a continuous affair. It will not be difficult to believe that God is always breaking forth into revelation and is always being revealed in ways and forms, in degrees and stages, as lofty and as adequate as man's spiritual attainments at the time make possible. Any revelation is for ever limited to the character of the revealing medium by which it is transmitted, and through which it is interpreted.

> For every fiery prophet in old times,
> And all the sacred madness of the bard,
> When God made music thro' them, could but speak
> His music by the framework and the chord.[1]

[1] Tennyson's "The Holy Grail."

But a revelation does not need to be absolutely perfect nor possessed of supernatural infallibility in order to be a real revelation of God and His truth. Beauty is beauty even though it be not expressed in its absolute fullness, and truth is truth even though we do not attain finality of expression for it. So, too, we can say in clear affirmation with Isaac Penington, "I have found my God," even though revelation is still proceeding, and though the Face may not yet be fully unveiled. We have much more to learn about gravitation, and we are only in the fringes of knowledge about electricity, but what we do know, partial though it is, is real knowledge. Wherever we succeed in creating a dynamo which will let electricity break through into positive operation, we not only get work done, but we also discover something of the real nature of the energy which we are using.

Life is one unending revelation of God, because God, if He is to be our God, must be Life and Love and Truth and Beauty and Goodness—the very realities which we dimly know in ourselves. We keep seeking Him just because we have found Him enough to know what it is that we are seeking. When we cry "Show us the Father!" the answer always is "Have I been so long time with you and yet hast thou not known me!" In Christ the revelation broke through into visibility as it has done in no other. The usual defects of character were absent, the ordinary limitations were transcended, the revealing medium was as it ought to be and therefore the light of the knowledge of the glory of God shone in unparalleled fullness in the face of Jesus Christ. But we cannot do alone with what once *was*, we must live and act now. Christ is God eternally revealing Himself—God in immediate relationship with men. We cannot build our lives solely out of the material of past histories. We are in the present stream of things. We cannot live with our faces turned backward upon that which has gone as though life was only *there*. The wisest teachers of the faith have through the centuries discovered that the Spirit, so wonderfully revealed in Christ, is a

permanent Spirit, real, present, vital, and operative, now as ever, in the lives of men. What He was once, He still is. Greater things are before us than those which have been behind us, if the cumulative power of the Christ revelation finds men of faith and does its full work through them. Sargent painted the Hebrew prophets with forward-looking faces, expectant of a great event. The forward-looking aspect, though Christ *has* come, is still the proper one, for the great event of religion is that experience which spiritual prophets have always emphasised: the Day-dawn and the Day-star arisen in one's own heart.

In the summer of 1897, John Wilhelm Rowntree and I, planning together our future Quaker work, climbed the Schilthorn in Switzerland. As we came round a curve in our ascent we saw the morning star just above the peak of the Jungfrau. A little later it disappeared, swallowed up in the greater light of the rising sun. The bestowal of the morning star—"I will give him the morning star"—seems thus to be the promise of a fuller day, a growing future and an expanding life. I have wondered all through the fifteen years during which I have worked at this series of histories whether the Quakerism whose history, with labour and fidelity, we have now recorded is to prove to be a waning or a growing light—the morning star heralding a larger spiritual dawn, or an evening star slowly sinking with a narrowing area of light. May the promise to Thyatira be granted to the later successors of Fox—"I will give them the morning star."

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